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ART. I.—THE FALL AND THE NATURAL WORLD.

That the natural world has an influence upon the character of man every scholar readily concedes. Light and heat ; air, earth and water ; food, climate and modes of life, exert a modifying influence on body and mind. That man reacts upon the natural world by the exercise of intellect and will no one will deny either. His superior and moulding power has been exhibited in the fine and mechanic arts in every age. He governs the animal by a word ; he subdues the earth and causes the vallies, hills and mountains to produce all manner of fruits ; and at his touch the mineral is transformed into ten thousand new and beautiful shapes.

So far all agree. But it is not so generally conceded that the moral and spiritual condition and character of the human race, objectively considered, are directly and intimately connected with the actual operation of the laws and forces which determine the condition of the physical world. It is supposed that, although the material part of the human constitution is a branch of the natural world, yet the state of the natural world, because governed by physical laws, is independent of the moral character of man ; that the earth and physical forces are the same whether man remain true to his Creator and original trust, or apostatize from Him. It is this general subject that we propose to discuss ; in order to show that in virtue of a deep and

mysterious sympathy between the spiritual and the physical, the natural world has sunk into an abnormal relation to the human race in consequence of the Fall.

The human race is connected constitutionally with the earth. The mineral, the vegetable and the animal, though each a distinct order of material existence, are yet inwardly and necessarily bound together. The life of the plant presupposes the existence of the mineral kingdom; and the life of the animal presupposes the existence both of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The plant appropriates and assimilates to itself the mineral. The animal appropriates and assimilates to itself both the plant and the mineral. The lower constitutes the pabulum of the higher order.

The life of man presupposes the existence of these three lower orders. He appropriates and assimilates one and all. He must do it, or die. The mineral kingdom is as necessary for man as it is for the plant. In like manner is the plant and animal necessary to the normal condition of mankind. Just as mineral elements are constituents of the plant; so are mineral, vegetable and animal elements the essential material constituents of man. The human race is as closely bound up with nature, though generically different, as the different lower orders of nature are bound up together among themselves.

In man, moreover, these lower orders reach their most complete form of expression. As to his physical constitution, he is the antitype of nature—the embodiment and perfection of the system of laws which underlie and determine each and all the departments of the lower world. And the human soul, vitally connected on the one hand with a material body, and, on the other, demanding in order to its integrity a living communion with God, forms the real connecting link between spirit and matter, between heaven and earth, between eternity and time, in a word, between the Creator of all things, the God and Father of Jesus Christ, and the kingdom of nature.

The kingdom of nature is not a mechanical collection of

things, laws, forces and influences, like stones, apples and bones thrown together on a conical pile; but it is a whole. Each one of its innumerable parts has its particular position and relation, and its particular office to perform. The sun, moon and stars; the mineral, plant and animal; body, soul and spirit; individuals, nations and races; the past, present and future; science, art and religion; each thing, whether sensible or supersensible, and each form or relation of a thing in time and space, has its place and its work to which it is bound by the law of the universal whole. Each part is also directly connected with every other part, thing, law or force. Each influences all, and all influence each. The true order of nature and an actual harmony of its operation, depend therefore not upon one thing or relation, nor upon many things, but upon all the things, forces and relations which make up the grand constitution of the first creation.

The symbol, or analogue, of the Christian Church, is, by divine authority, the human body. It exhibits in a figure the idea and order of the new creation in Christ Jesus. Hence we feel authorized also to take it as the symbol, or analogue, of the first or lower creation. The human body symbolizes the material world culminating in the first Adam as its legitimate head.

The human body consists of many members, organs and mysterious forces, constituting together a wonderful organic unity. Each one depends upon all the rest; and in turn all the rest depend upon each one. This principle the Apostle Paul has forcibly illustrated in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. "The body is not one member, but many. Now hath God set the members, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased Him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." 1 Cor. 12: 14-26.

According to this inspired representation, the human body is one, consisting of many ; one thing, or entity, consisting of many integral parts : all the parts being dependent on each other reciprocally, and on the life-principle of the whole ; and the life-principle of the whole being dependent for its normal activity upon each and all the parts. When every member fills its office, and the proper subordination of these different members, each in its due measure, to the life and order of the whole is maintained, the body is healthy and vigorous. There is joyous harmony in the activity of numberless and various forces. But if any member of the body does not fill its office ; if it does not perform its appropriate work ; if it does not sustain its original relation to the other members, each and all, disorder and violence ensue. The beauty of this material organism, which is so "fearfully and wonderfully made," gives place to the pain and horror of raging confusion ; a confusion, however, which is greater or less, more or less violent, according to the relative position of the failing member. All members have not the same office, as the Apostle Paul teaches. One member is the hand, another the eye, another the heart. If the hand be cut off, the entire nervous system is shocked ; yet the body may survive and live on through the allotted period of human life, though in a mutilated condition which greatly lessens its beauty and hinders its efficiency. If the eye be destroyed the shock is greater still ; the suffering and loss affect in a much deeper sense all the powers of the body, and cast a dark shadow upon the mind. The body may survive indeed, but the vigor and completeness of its action is impaired to an inconceivable degree. But if the heart ceases to beat, not only is the body mutilated or its power impaired, but its life becomes extinct ; and the material body so wonderfully made, subjected to the law of decomposition, passes into a mass of inert and offensive matter.

Here we have in a little space the idea of the first creation. The earth with its different kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, and mankind, taken together, con-



stitute one grand department of the universe. They are not isolated. They do not exist independently of each other. But they are, like the human body, one, yet many; one system, consisting of many sub-systems and innumerable parts, each differing in kind from the rest, and each conditioning in its measure the completeness and end of all, and all conditioning the law and influence of each; a unity of matchless wisdom and power, in which the original order of the whole depends upon the normal position and normal action of each and all the members. If any part or member does not fill its place or perform its work; if it violates the specific law which governs it, it violates by its connections the system of law which governs creation, and inflicts a wrong or evil on the whole: a chord is touched which sends a thrill of discord along every nerve and fibre, reaching down to atoms or molecules of matter, and up to the God-like spirit of man.

The injury done and the degree of disorder consequent upon the injury depend upon the relative position and importance of the failing part or offending member. Paul says of the body, all the members have not the same office; so we must say of the first creation, taken as a whole. All the grand divisions and sub-divisions, all the systems and sub-systems, all the genera and species, have not the same office. One division or system stands lower, the other stands higher; one thing stands lowest in the mysterious organism, another thing or being stands highest in it. The influence for evil of any part of creation rises in degree with its position. If the earth quakes, cities may fall into ruin, millions of gold and thousands of lives may be lost, and commerce checked or suspended; but society sooner or later surmounts the effects of the terrible shock, the world resumes its usual course, and the catastrophe lives on only in history. If madness seize a part of the animal kingdom; if they destroy corn, the vine, and the trees; if they fall upon and devour one another; if they attack and destroy men, women and children with the fierceness of an enraged tiger; the shock may be more horrifying, more

general and more ruinous still ; but there is an energy and power in man that is superior to the most violent raging of brutes ; he meets the fierceness of brute force with unshrinking courage, and subdues and destroys them in countless millions.

But when man falls the world falls. When the human race breaks away from its appointed orbit, confusion and discord break in upon the music of creation. When man no longer holds his original position, all lower systems and objects whose normal action and influence depend upon his fidelity, are thrown into irremediable disorder. The relation of mankind to the lower kingdoms of nature is like that of the head to the other members of the body. The eye may cease to see and the ear to hear ; the arm may be paralysed, or even a lobe of the lungs removed ; yet whilst each injury will necessarily produce its corresponding effect for evil upon the entire physical frame, the body may nevertheless live on. Not so with the brain. A paralysis of the brain is the paralysis of the entire nervous system. The human body ceases altogether to be a body. It becomes a corpse.

The principle under discussion becomes more strikingly manifest under another view of the illustration. What the brain is to the nervous system, that the reason of man is to the body. The legitimate exercise of the powers of body and mind depend upon the supremacy of the reason. If reason be dethroned, and the will impotent, all the intellectual, moral and physical powers become arrayed against each other. Gigantic powers fall upon gigantic powers in wildest commotion, as mighty armies fall upon mighty armies, or as surging waves fall upon surging waves roused into fury by the lawless storm. The raving and cursing of the maniac ; the rending of garments ; the breaking of furniture ; the biting and cutting of his own flesh, accompanied with shrieking and yelling, moaning and howling, the most terrific ; reveal, not strength but weakness, not the operation of natural laws, but a violation of them, not the character of human life, but the spasms and throes of

most violent dying; reveal, not the presence, but the absence of the highest powers of a rational being—the absence of powers which had held those tremendous forces each in its place and its normal relation, and all in the original order of a perfect unity. We can not disclose to the cold eye of the logical understanding how spirit and matter in man act on each other reciprocally; nor can we explain the manner in which the reason rules in the functions of the body and makes the whole man physically no less than intellectually; but we know the fact to be most undoubted. This is sufficient. The fact exhibits to us, analogically, a correct idea of the original subordination to man of the incomprehensible forces which enter into the constitution of the natural world.

What the head is to the body, or the brain to the nervous system; what the reason is to the unity, order and harmonious activity of the intellectual and physical powers; that the human race itself is in its relation to all the kingdoms of nature. Made but a little lower than the angels and crowned by his Creator with glory and honor, man stood forth by the will of the Almighty, not figuratively but really, the head of the entire terrene creation. Under his righteous sway earth was Paradise.

When by the instigation of the Devil he transgressed the law of God, the living communion of man with God was interrupted, and the race sank, as by one stroke severing the vital bond, into unfathomable depths of evil. The act is called emphatically *the Fall*; and a fall of tremendous significance it was, moral, intellectual and physical. With him fell into confusion and discord whatever was dependent upon his integrity for its normal relative position, and its power for good. Being the real head of the physical world with whom all lower laws, and lower forms of being, stood in necessary relation, the integrity of Adam was not only the condition of the life and blessedness of the entire race throughout all time; but his integrity was also the condition of the integrity and harmonious action of all nature relatively to himself. So soon as this essential

condition of harmony with man in the natural world failed, confusion was introduced. Severing himself by transgression from God in body, soul and spirit, man in that act severed all the kingdoms of nature from God. For the life and laws of humanity are inwoven with the life and laws of nature; just as the laws of the eye and seeing are inwoven with the laws of light; or the law of the lungs and of breathing are with the laws of the atmosphere. If the eye be sound, it sees the light; the laws of the eye meet the laws of light; and light is most agreeable and beneficial to the human spirit. Light sustains a proper relation to man because man sustains a proper relation to it. If the eye be diseased, the laws of light are not met by the laws of the eye; the action of light becomes the cause of extreme pain to the eye, and its true relation to the human spirit is destroyed. For the normal relation of light to man is conditioned on the integrity of man. If he is not himself, and in consequence bears a false relation to the light, it bears a false relation to him and can not subserve its design.

So with the atmosphere in its relation to man. The action of the atmosphere depends on the health of the body. If the lungs do not perform their functions, a pure atmosphere ceases to be complementary to physiological laws. If the cuticle of the skin be removed by accident or otherwise, the lambent air instead of refreshing the body and cheering the mind, attacks the life of the body, inflicts indescribable pain, and may even consume it. The laws of the atmosphere are set in a false relation to man the moment he ceases to be in his normal condition.

The same principle may be illustrated by every particular relation of mankind to the outer sensible world; by hearing, tasting, smelling, eating, drinking, sleeping, bodily exercise; as well as by every relation belonging to the constitution of society. At all points man conditions the state and action of the natural world relatively to himself. He is the being to whom, according to the general idea of creation, all terrestrial orders of existence are to be held in subordination. Considered as different integral parts of

an organic whole, he holds the highest position, and in it exerts a determining influence upon what is below him; just as the head, or heart, does upon the members of the human body. When he was right, using the word in its broadest sense, the natural world was harmonious; when he is wrong, the natural world is thrown into confusion. So long as man stood in right relation to God, he stood in right relation to himself and to nature, and nature stood in right relation to him. But when he violated the law of God, he violated the law of his own being; and to violate the laws of his own being, was to violate the laws of nature; for the threads of his sensuo-rational life are interwoven with the woof of all the laws of nature. Thus he came to stand in false relation to God, to himself and to nature; and, by necessary consequence, nature also came to stand in false relation to God, to man, and to itself. When Adam lifted his hand against the Creator, he dealt a blow which fell upon the creature.

Hence the curse passes upon man and nature alike. Among men we find labor and sorrow, disease and pain, shame and weeping; ill-will, anger and wrath; hatred of self, of others, and of God; deceit and falsehood, enmity and malice, revenge and murder. As storm follows storm, so does one excited passion succeed another raging in wildest fury in their own bosoms. In the family, the husband lifts his blood-thirsty hand against his wife, the parent against the child, the brother against his sister. In society at large foe meets foe in deadliest conflict; family rising up in the ire of fierce wrath against family, state against state, nation against nation, and continent against continent; each one bent, in the spirit of a fiend, on pouring out the heart's blood of his brother on the ground. On the earth we see briars and thorns; convulsions and earthquakes; volcanic eruptions and streams of consuming fire; storms and whirlwinds and devastating tornadoes; inundations and conflagrations; burning heat and freezing cold. One wild commotion of blind impetuous forces presses on after another, in the heavens and

upon the earth, with terrific self-destroying power. Nature against man and against itself, and man against himself and against nature, the world becomes the theatre of most direful confusion, of wailing and groaning and convulsive dying from age to age. As when the human reason is dethroned the powers of mind and body turn against each other with most intense fierceness and dreadful violence; so when man is dethroned by sin the energies of the race and the forces of nature break forth into a war of each against all and all against each.

This is the explicit teaching of the Sacred Scriptures. "And unto Adam the Lord said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee saying, Thou shalt not eat of it; cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." (Gen. 3: 17-19.) The earth suffers with man under the curse which God pronounces upon Adam.

The same truth is taught by the Apostle Paul when he says "that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." (Rom. 8: 22.) We ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the redemption of our body; and the natural world, made subject to vanity, groans with us, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God.

In the account of Christ stilling the tempest on the sea of Galilee, as given by St. Matthew,\* it is said of Christ, not that he caused the violence of the winds to cease, and the waves to subside, but that He first reproved the disciples for their fearfulness and "little faith," and then rebuked† the winds and the sea. Why rebuke the winds?

\* Matth. 8: 23-27.

† *Esotropeo*, from *en* and *trapeo*, to value, to put an estimate upon in a good sense, then, to put an estimate of demerit upon. Hence to reprove, rebuke; a word frequently used by the Evangelists in representing the miraculous workin



Why charge inanimate matter with wrong-doing? Not because our Lord indulges in empty rhetorical figures of speech; but because of the intimate connection of physical evil with moral evil. Physical evil is but the effect of moral evil; first, of the fall of Satan and his legions, and, secondly, of the sin and fall of mankind. The winds and the waves are but the passive agents of the Devil, who is "the Prince of the power of the air." (Eph. 2: 2.) In allaying the sudden fury of the tempest on the sea of Galilee, our Saviour accordingly rebukes the evil moral power which works in the air and in the waters. This implies a subjection of matter, and the laws of matter, to an evil spiritual power as a foreign force; a force foreign alike to man, to nature, and to the original harmony between human life and the physical world.

These considerations, sustained alike by natural science and the Sacred Scriptures, go to establish both the fact and the character of the intimate connection existing between man and nature. Whilst man and the earth differ generically, and very widely, they are nevertheless members of one grand order of things, the first creation. The normal relations of the natural world presuppose the integrity of the human race, its true and necessary head. The lapse of man from his moral and physical integrity into a state of moral and physical evil, or disorder, involves a lapse of the natural world, every law of which reaches into and is embodied in the human constitution, from a state of relative order and harmony into a state of opposition to man and violence. The clouds of heaven hurl upon man and beast the fatal bolt; the atmosphere is transformed into destructive storms, and the quiet waters into the sweeping inundation; the gentle flame becomes the devouring conflagration, and the nourishing bosom of earth pours forth broad streams of death; the sun smites men by day and

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of Christ. Matth. 17: 18, "Jesus rebuked the devil;" Mark 1: 25, "Jesus rebuked him" (the unclean spirit); Luke 9: 42, "Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit;" Luke 4: 39, "He stood over her, (Simon's wife's mother) and rebuked the fever:" the same Greek word being used in all these passages.

the moon by night ; because the material creation suffers with man the consequences of his apostacy from God.

To this general view there are *two objections*, which we proceed briefly to consider. The one is preferred by Natural Science, the other by Theology. The one is based on natural philosophy, the other on supernatural Revelation.

Natural Science objects, on the ground of close, long continued and extensive observation, that the changes and convulsions of the natural world are determined by certain fixed and invariable laws which belong to the original constitution of nature. The processes of disintegration, reconstruction and transformation in the mineral kingdom are necessitated by the laws of matter ; the laws of matter are immutable, or exist as long as matter exists ; hence the violent changes in the elements resulting from the resistance operation of law are necessary and immutable also ; and can not have been superinduced by a moral cause. So too in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. The sprouting of the seed ; the growth, full development and decay of plants—a permanent cycle which the vegetable kingdom repeats from age to age ; the birth, life, the gradual exhaustion of vitality, and the death of animals ; the dependence of one kingdom of nature upon another, of the animal upon the plant ; the dependence of one species of animal for food upon another, necessitated by their physical organization—of different species of quadrupeds and birds, for example, upon live flesh or carrion ; all serve to demonstrate the necessity of change, violence and death as lying in the natural world itself. Hence we must infer, that the confusion, suffering and disorder caused among men by the natural world are produced by the operation of the original laws of creation, and can not be the effect of the transgression of the will of God by Adam and his posterity.

This in general terms is the argument of learned naturalists ; and as the reasoning is an induction from phenomena which address themselves to the senses, the eye, the ear, and the touch, visible and tangible phenomena therefore which are free, as it is thought, from the uncertainty

and indefiniteness which attach to all metaphysical or theological theorizing, the conclusion claims to be acknowledged as an undoubted fact. Naturalists repose great confidence in inductive reasoning based on observation and experiment; and some of them go so far even as to maintain that its conclusions are the only results of investigation of which the mind can be entirely certain. But they forget that the validity of all observation and experiment as the basis of generalization depends upon a metaphysical theory. The theory of inductive reasoning is a metaphysical theory. Every generalization from a number of particular phenomena is based upon, and justified by, an intuitive principle; a principle given forth immediately by the human reason; a principle that can not be proved or tested by experiment, but gives to experiment and observation all the scientific value they possess. That principle is the inductive principle; or the principle of inductive reasoning. If this be false all the results of experiment and induction are visionary. A metaphysical intuition, formally announced and indicated by Bacon,\* has given impulse and character to all the Natural Sciences as developed in modern times. Hence every attempt to disparage metaphysical thinking in contrast with the clearer and more certain process of induction from external phenomena, is suicidal;

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\*The notion that Bacon discarded all theories and resorted to an actual investigation of nature in order to ascertain its laws and modes of existence, overlooks altogether a primary psychological law. The human reason can institute no investigation into the nature of an object but in the light of an intuitive principle. The truth is that Bacon only substituted one theory for another; a true one for prevailing false ones. His theory is that a correct knowledge of the external world is not obtained from a priori ideas concerning its nature, but by an induction from known particulars to the unknown general; it is the a priori principle that the nature of a whole is the same as that of a given number of its parts, or the nature of a class of objects the same as that of many individuals belonging to it. Indeed all sound scientific investigation is metaphysical; one science differing from another only according to the object with which it has to do; whilst all alike depend for their first principles upon the intuitions of the human reason. Natural Science is nothing more or less than sound metaphysical enquiry into the laws of nature.

for it is an attempt to remove the foundation of experimental philosophy. Hence, too, the application of the inductive principle in any given case is properly subject to criticism in the light of general truths that lie back of all observation. The bearing of the facts of the natural world gathered by observation and the generalizations based on these facts, are determined by certain assumptions of the mind. If these are true the generalizations may be true; if they are false the generalizations must be false.

We venture to affirm that the objection of Natural Science to any internal connection between the Fall of man and the condition of the earth or the natural world, in its relation to him, is not valid; because it proceeds upon a false assumption. A valid process of inductive reasoning infers the general character of a thing from the phenomena of that thing; or the general character of a class from a number of individuals belonging to that class. From the phenomena of one thing, it can not infer the general character of another thing. It can not determine the nature of a quadruped from observations made on a fish. From the phenomena of a thing in a given state, it can not infer the general character of that thing in a totally different state. It can not determine the nature of a living tree bearing green leaves, delicate flowers and luscious fruit, from the phenomena of that species of tree in a state of decomposition and decay. It can not determine the nature of an animal, instinct with the vigor and buoyancy of young life, from any observations on a carcass. Frequent and accurate observations on a rotting log may serve to determine the law and conditions of vegetable decomposition; no more. Similar observations on a putrifying mass, or on a skeleton, may reveal the law of animal decomposition; no more. With all his general and particular knowledge of the animal kingdom, the Naturalist can not advance a single step in Zoology without a new set of true phenomena. Of a newly-discovered species he can form a general judgment only in so far as he possesses the results of particular observations made upon it. He can

not determine the habits of one species exclusively from his knowledge of the habits of another. Of the mastodon, for example, we know nothing but from its fossil remains. From these it has been calculated that it was a mammiferous, pachydermatous quadruped, allied to the elephant; and from these facts certain general inferences may be drawn as to its habits; but we can acquire no such certain and satisfactory knowledge as we possess of the nature and habits of the elephant, or any species of which we have living specimens, for the simple reason that we are utterly unacquainted with the phenomena of a living mastodon.

The principle is fundamental to the validity of inductive reasoning; and applies to the case in hand. The phenomena of the natural world as it affects mankind, which are accessible to the human mind, are the phenomena of the natural world as it is in the relation in which it now stands to him; and forms the valid basis of a judgment concerning the relation of the natural world to him as it is at present constituted. We can have no access to any phenomena of a state of things anterior to and differing from the relative position of the natural world as it now is. There are indeed fossil remains of extinct species of animals and plants; and indications of violent physical forces that have in the ages past caused great changes in the condition of the earth; changes which are not taking place now; changes, too, justifying the inference that the earth has been passing from a lower to a higher state of organization. These facts, however, do not affect the question at issue. They show that the present condition of the earth is not its primary condition. They show that the earth has been subjected to violent convulsions. But they do not show that the present relation of the earth to mankind is the original relation. The facts accessible to Science all belong to the present relative condition of the natural world; and can, can, therefore, not be the basis of any judgment concerning a different relation of the world to man existing prior to the Fall. Natural Science is limited by every law of induction

to an inquiry concerning his relations to the natural world as they are now constituted.

Within the legitimate compass of Natural Science, there is in consequence no basis of objection to any theory of the original relation in which the order of nature stood. When in the light of Revelation we maintain that the present operation of natural forces and laws is not the original order; but that the prevailing confusion and violence, and the hostility of natural elements, air, fire, water, light, and the rest, to the life and happiness of mankind, has supervened from a moral cause, the lapse into moral and physical evil of man who is the true original head of nature; and that there is a deep sympathy between the moral and the physical, between man and animate organisms, inanimate organisms and mineral laws, in consequence of which nature must be in a state of harmony with man, or of hostility to him, as man abides in his original integrity, or apostazies from it;—we enter a sphere of thought into which Natural Science can not follow. The most it can say with propriety is, that it knows nothing about such a primeval relation of the natural world.

Natural Science can object to this view only by perpetrating one of two fallacies. It can object on the ground that all human facts prove nature always to have been subject to the operation of existing laws which are uniform and unchangeable. This is to draw from existing facts an inference concerning an order of things to which, on the presumption of an original relation differing from the present, existing facts do not belong. On the same principle Natural Science might contradict the Fall itself of the human race. For all the facts of human society as far back as history or tradition can carry us, establish the existence of the law of sin which operates in all the relations of social life as an unchanging and ineradicable moral force. The inference would be as justifiable in the one case as in the other. The facts establishing the laws of moral evil as belonging to the constitution of man are unlimited in number and possesses every imaginable variety of character;



as numerous and various, to say the least, as the certain phenomena of the physical world. And the difference between the primeval dignity and blessedness of man, as taught by Revelation, and the degradation, ignorance and misery of all nations, as taught by history and observation; is as great, to say nothing more, as any supposed difference between the original and present relation of nature to mankind.

Or, to avoid this violation of a fundamental law of induction, Natural Science must perpetrate a *petitio principii*. It must raise the objection on the assumption that the existing relation of the natural world is its only relation—that the known operation of the laws of nature upon man is the only one which can be predicated of these laws; which is directly to beg the question at issue. Certainly on every principle of reasoning, Natural Science can not oppose the theory of a great change in the relations of the natural world as an effect of man's sin, by proceeding on the assumption that the order and relations of the natural world are unchangeable. This second fallacy, however, is involved in the first; or rather, the two involve each other. To conclude from existing phenomena that the operation of natural laws has not been affected by the Fall, is both to deny the possibility of radical change from a moral cause, and to sustain the denial by an inference drawn from the present phenomena of nature against a relative position of nature to which present phenomena do not belong. We repeat, therefore, that assuming the possibility of so intimate a connection between man and nature that a moral change in man produces a corresponding change in the relations of the natural world to him, Natural Science, bound by the laws of induction, has no basis, and can have no sufficient basis, of logical judgment against it.

To what extent, however, the operation of natural laws has been affected by the Fall we have no means of determining positively. We do not affirm that the processes of nature would be generically different. The process of accretion and disintegration in the mineral kingdom, and that of growth

maturity, death and decomposition in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, may have been as consistent with his condition before the Fall as it is now with his condition after that event. All we contend for, on the ground of Revelation, is the fact of a deep sympathy between man and the external natural world, both being integral parts of a whole, in virtue of which the Fall changes the relation of man to the natural world and of the natural world to man; and modifies the condition of the natural world itself in the degree, whatever that may be, that its normal condition may have presupposed and depended upon the original integrity of man.

We are able to determine much more in the way of negation. By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. (Rom. 5: 12.) The death of man, and whatever in society or in nature tend to cause it, or hasten it prematurely, are the consequence of the Fall. Had man sustained his probation, the law of suffering and death would have no place in him; he would be superior to all the forces of nature that now assail and destroy the race. He could not be consumed by fire, nor drowned by water. The sun could not smite him. No excess of heat or cold could give him pain. No noxious vapors, nor terrible whirlwinds; no quakings of the earth, nor eruptions of volcanoes; no mineral nor vegetable poisons, no law of gravitation, nor fury of wild beasts; no sickness, disease, nor age, could touch him. Superior to these and all other hostile forces, he would have lived on in the freshness of ever blooming youth, having complete dominion over all kingdoms of nature below him in the strength of direct communion with God. Such a different human character and state would of course involve a great modification of all the relations of nature to man—a modification, however, which we are not in a position to describe specifically, yet in general terms may say would be direct and far-reaching in its influence.

Another objection, we have said, may be raised by

**Theology.** It may be urged against this view of the relation of the Fall to the natural world, that it confounds spirit with matter, or man with nature, and thus becomes pantheistic. The charge is well-grounded if the view involves such a confusion, or flowing together, of different forms of being. But such is not the case. Pantheism, or pantheistic thinking, consists as to its essence in identifying objects which are generically different. It does not consist in maintaining an internal and necessary connection of different objects. Such connection we must maintain, or fall into the opposite error of dualism, which is equally fatal to sound Theology. And such a connection is consistent with a broad distinction between matter and spirit, or between man and nature. Man, in one sense, is a part of nature; he is linked in by living bands with all its laws; yet as possessing moral and spiritual being he rises immeasurably above it. A specific order of being, he must be distinguished from all merely natural forms of organization, but not separated or sundered from them. For his entire physical organization, and his intellect also, so far as its modes of activity are conditioned by organic connection with the body, presuppose the existence of nature and its subordination to him.

An illustration of the truth may be found in the constitution of man himself. Consisting of soul and body in organic union, he is neither pure spirit nor pure matter. Nor is he a composition of matter and spirit. But both, though each has qualities different from those of the other, are integral parts of one being, who is developed and sustained by the force of one life-principle. So intimately connected, there is a living sympathy between body and mind; and any change in the one immediately affects the other. But this view of their intimate relation involves no identification of spirit with matter, or of matter with spirit. There is no flowing together, or mixing, of different entities. The relation of man to nature, though both are parts of one whole, is far less intimate than that of mind to body. As the body is in living sympathy with the mind

and affected by all its changes, whilst the body remains distinct as to its essential qualities ; so may nature be in such sympathy with man that a radical change in him modifies the reciprocal relation between man and nature, and yet the natural world be in no sense identical with mankind, or matter flow together and be one with spirit.

The natural world, as contradistinguished from man is an order of existence which in no sense can be confounded with him considered as a person ; yet in consequence of a common participation, through his body, in the same system of laws, he is so nicely interlinked with natural processes, and so necessarily conditioned by the presence and forces of the world, that so great a moral and physical change in him as the Fall involves, can not but touch and change also to an inconceivable degree all his relations to the kingdoms of nature below him ; and in consequence give nature a relative position, a power for evil over him, and a general attitude as regards the race, which it could not have, so long as he obeyed law and retained his primeval integrity.

It follows that the work of redemption in Christ Jesus, which is a deliverance from all the power and consequences of sin, must pertain not only to soul and body, but reach out also into the kingdom of nature, at least to such a degree as to bring all its wild and tremendous powers, filled with hostility to mind and body, to life and health, to happiness and peace, into complete subjection to the Head of the Church and ultimately to the Church itself. The heavens and the earth, which are now, by the word of God are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.

E. V. G.

## ART. II.—STRENGTH AND BEAUTY OF THE SANCTUARY.

The work of Beauty is the work of God: As God is the author of all might, and the creator of all things, so is He the Giver, and Maker of all beauty. As the Divine Nature is the fountain of wisdom, truth, and love, so is that same all-holy One the source of beauty. Still further, as He is the God of Grace, so is He the Lord and Giver of beauty.

We mean by this last remark that beauty forms a part in the revelation of the Triune God through the incarnation of the Word, to the end that the wisdom of God might be made manifest to all creatures eternally in Christ. In other words, beauty is a real and true part of the kingdom of Grace, and is thus made supernatural, even as faith, and hope, and love, are so made. If this were not so, how could we possibly conceive of the work of redemption as resulting in a *kingdom*? A kingdom is an impossible conception, except as involving the aesthetic man—otherwise, the highest idea of a kingdom would be that of a shop. Scarcely even that, for it is probable that through the faculty of imagination, which gives us more than any other faculty the idea and the capacity of *making*, we attain to the conception of power, or efficiency. We do not know how the modern metaphysics now regards this aesthetic *derivation* of the idea, but we do know that man would see little of the mighty power of God were he not gifted with an imagination wherewith to look upon His works. In other words the power of God in creation is made known to man through his imagination, and is thus most deeply and most truly felt. The true poet is unquestionably a truer prophet of nature than the mere man of science. The wisdom and power of God are revealed by the things that are made, in the way of beauty. Now, if any one doubt whether this be true also of the kingdom of grace, let him *imagine* what the conception of that kingdom would be to

him were he without the faculty of imagination ! How would the majesty of Christ, as set forth in Ephesians, become as it were another thing, how would the glories of the Apocalypse fade into another kind of Gospel ! Or, let him take the 45th Psalm, and imagine what would become of the Saviour and His kingdom there described, were the glory, the beauty, the grace, and the fairness taken away from the description ? Would it not be like a taking away of the Lord Himself ? Verily there would be little power, or majesty, nay, little reality left. Let the humblest Christian in this way test the question as to the sanctified, regenerated, supernatural, attribute of beauty in the kingdom of grace—nay, as to its wonderful effect in enabling him to feel the might of the power and majesty and glory of divine things. And, for the sake of such an one, let us remark that this *feeling*, this peculiar and gracious impression which he has of the grace and glory of his Saviour, when reading such a passage of holy inspiration, is what we mean by the sanctified imagination or the regenerated aesthetic man. It is not the poet, or any other artist as such, that has the feeling—but it is every human being who loves the blessed Saviour and His word, without exception, that has the feeling. Every man that has a mind, has an imagination, and every man that has a regenerated mind, has a regenerated imagination. Let us be permitted to make one more conciliatory remark ;—the fact of the perverted action of man's imagination no more stands in the way of God's being the author of beauty, than the fact of man's perverted understanding stands in the way of God's being the author of wisdom. The *vilest* works of poetical pravity are not *as vile* as the works of infidel reason.

We shall be the better prepared to estimate the force of the remark that beauty is a sanctified element amid the powers of the new-kingdom—is, indeed the crown and glory of its visible representation unto men, and to a remarkable degree, the way of the working of its power—by a moments consideration of its place and function in nature. Here, that is in the creation and renewing of the



visible universe, the work of beauty is specifically accorded to the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. This is well stated by Owen in his valuable work on the Holy Spirit. "Some, indeed, seem willing to exclude all thoughts or mention of the Spirit from the natural works of God; but without Him no part of any work of God is perfect or complete. The beginning of Divine operations is assigned unto the Father, as He is *fons et origo Deitatis*. The subsisting, establishing, and upholding, of all things is ascribed unto the Son. And the finishing and perfecting of all these works is ascribed to the Holy Spirit. Whereas the order of operation among the distinct Persons depends on the order of their subsistence in the blessed Trinity, in every great work of God, the *concluding, completing, perfecting acts* are ascribed unto the Holy Ghost." This is strictly in accordance with all which is revealed as it respects the Divine oeconomy, whether in the work of nature or that of grace. And it is in equal accordance with an important truth involved, as well as explicitly declared,—that the Spirit of perfectness is at the same time the Spirit of power. The Spirit not only finishes the works of God and thus through the perfection of beauty conveys to us the impression of power and might and glory, but the same holy Being is made known as the Beginner of every work of God revealed in the Divine oeconomy. Thus nature, as made in relation to man, stands between two distinct revelations of the Spirit as the immediate worker and life-giver; the six-days work of creation commenced with the brooding of the Spirit on the face of the deep, and ended with the breathing of the Spirit into man. So also our blessed Lord, as to His human nature, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and raised from the dead by the same Spirit. So also the church which commenced with Pentecost is to be raised in glory by the same Spirit. The Spirit as the Spirit of power, is the Spirit of perfectness—as the Spirit of life is the Spirit of beauty; or conversely, the Spirit that beautifies is the Lord Almighty, and the Giver of life and glory. Thus we are taught to conceive of the final con-

summation of the mighty working of God in the Redemption of men, as of a *glorified* church, or as of the *glory* of Christ. Now that word *glory* gives a conception not possible except to the imagination; that is, it is a conception of beauty. If we say this "beauty" and "glory" so much spoken of as the final description of the church, *are spiritual*, and if we mean thereby, *are the work of the Spirit*, we say what is true—but if we mean thereby, something *formless and abstract*, then we deceive our own minds. This would be going back of the region, so to speak, of the Spirit. The world "without form and void" was broken up from that state by the Spirit's brooding upon it, and the glory and beauty of the Zion described in the last Book of the Spirit are thrown back into the same chaotic period except as the sanctified imagination accepts and entertains the pictured forms of its revelation. The mightiest working of the mighty Power of God is in its consummation, the Church, a conception for the aesthetic man. The mind that feels not the glory of the starry-heavens or the all-wondrous beauty of the earth and sky, has as yet by no means the fullest conception of the glory of Christ, for in their glory He is glorified and His church glorified, by the same Spirit.

It may be more satisfactory to some, (and we would in this subject willingly make ourselves all things to all men if by any means we might win any)—to look at the beautifying work of the Spirit by help of some more concrete instances. Well, then, the blessed Spirit as the personal Sanctifier and Converter of men, is still the author of beauty. And this is true both subjectively and objectively. The Spirit converts and sanctifies the soul by the truth. This truth is itself as we have seen the work of the Spirit, and whether it be in nature, or in the written word, or in Christ, is a work of glory and beauty, and a work whose power is made perfect in beauty. Now, although the work of conversion and sanctification should proceed in a given instance, and throughout, upon a ground within the man as low as that of fear, it will still be a work wrought not without the imagination of the man. One

converted by a clap of thunder may not perhaps come into a religious character as symmetrically beautiful as that of the saint who has been drawn by the love of Christ, but in either case there could be no religion without imagination, for fear as well as love is a function of the faculty of beauty. But it is unquestionable, and palpable even to sight, that the more perfect the system of truth be, upon which the religious character is formed the more *beautiful*, will that character be. Some of the old Covenanters were good men, but assuredly they had not a beautiful religion, and it is equally certain that their religion gained no whit of *power* in virtue of its homeliness. The religion of the Scottish people has done comparatively little towards beautifying their nationality or their land. English religion, on the other hand, has made glorious and powerful a nationality which is to this day the most decided and permanent of all the civilized peoples; it has created a literature, the like of which is not known for grandeur, reality, and beauty, outside the inspired Scriptures, and it has made their land as it were a perpetual garden. Now, this English religion is preëminently beautiful. And so true religion always *makes beautiful*, and the more complete it is the more it makes beautiful. So entirely is this the case that the truth has wrought itself into the framework of our universal religious speech: The most satisfactory word we have, wherewith to give expression to the feeling excited by the most profound and exalted exemplifications of Spiritual victory, whether in doing or suffering, is the word *beautiful*. The fullest word we have, for depicting the victory of the dying saints, is the word *beautiful*. The best phrase we possess for describing the highest reach of Spiritual triumph, in the militant saint—that of Christian resignation,—or contentment, or patience—is to say “how beautiful!” The final result of all and every Spiritual victory, in other words of Sanctification, is peace; and *peace is beautiful*, and is brought about only by the Power of God in Christ Jesus. It is no wonder then that in the case of every such manifestation of religious character, we should together with the sense of its loveliness and beauty, feel instinctively confident of its

strength. That quiet and gentle spirit of resignation, which we characterize as beautiful, we feel much surer of, as respects its continuance and power to sustain, than we do in those cases where we see that the self-restraint is by a conscious act of the will in operation. The strong man, in that case, has not come home to the abiding-place of power; we know it because his submission has not as yet gathered about it the beauty of peace. This is the beauty which forms the "halo" of the Saint, and it is according to a true analogy which led the church to accord it to none except such as had shown even by the test of miracle, that power had been given them to have victory over the world.

It is a most deep and important truth and principle, that not then is power felt to be most powerful when seen to be working as power. This is a truth which the Greeks best foreshadowed of the ancient people; and which the English nation has best taken up of the moderns. The sign of true power is peace, and the description of peace is beauty. There is a composure of action and expression, which has left behind it the need of asseveration and emphasis, and which has at last settled at a certain point which is both practical, as is the earth, and ideal, as are the Heavens. It is the highest expression of strength known to man. It will always be characterized by reality, by magnanimity, by geniality; the rising up of its power will be terrible not by the flaunting of banners, and the repose of its victory will be so unconscious that a child may roam playfully amidst its embattled rest. There will always be something inviting about this kind of strength, and the sign of this is, that it will always make inviting its abode. We may depend upon it, that where men would be led to desire to "make tabernacles," and stay, there is the residence of true power. The floral loveliness of the land of Britain is the truest sign of the nation's strength. The power of the Samson is revealed in the beauty of his locks.

But, however it may be as respects the illustration, the truth remains settled as a fact and principle at the very

basis of man's productive nature. Man will then beautify the best when he is most strong. The true art of every nation is coincident with its perfect manhood. The effeminacy of art begins in the weakness of its commencing dissolution. Art is strong and a sign of strength, and strength is ever beautiful. And so religion and approximately so according as it approaches perfection. It is not only a subjective growth effected upon the exhibition of the truthful beauties of holiness, but it is an effective operation which beautifies the man, and causes him to make beautiful that which is without and about him. Christianize a man and you beautify his character. Christianize a family and you beautify the family. Christianize a village and you beautify the village. Christianize a nation and you beautify the land. A Christian people cannot abide upon a heathen territory. Christianize India, and its loathsome temple-architecture will take on the beauty of Christian art. Christianize Palestine, and its present squalor and wretchedness would disappear in the effulgence of beauty that should again cover the land. And so, too, fully Christianize the man, let his religion come home not only to his conscience direct, but let it come through all those avenues which are the divinely-appointed inlets of grace and truth and glory to the inner man, in "beautiful sights and beautiful sounds and beautiful sentiments," and just by how much is this wonderful and many-sided being, man, religiously addressed according to the fulness of his make and nature, by so much will his religion under the upright use of the same, become full and perfect and strong and beautiful, and enduring, and ready to bear the test of trial. And when the test comes, his religion will be strong and beautiful in the bearing of the trial.

It is perfectly manifest, for example, that among the various forms of religion which now exist in our land, some appear, in the general, to effect a more amiable, graceful, and perfect Christian culture, than others. We think it will be found, among these various forms, that according as they more or less address directly the full told number

of the elements which go to make up the man, bodily and spiritually, will be, generally, the perfectness of the Christianity produced. If, for example, among any of them, that feeling of mystical veneration, which we call reverence, and which is so deeply seated in the religious aisthesis of the man, be not at all addressed either by means of ministerial order, or of liturgical array, then it is not possible the form of religion educed can escape the marks somewhere of self-consciousness, self-esteem, and self-will. And *that* will be a religion of little permanent strength. We *know* it cannot be such, because we see it to be not *beautiful*—for nothing is Spiritually strong which is not beautiful. But, we are also able to analyze such a form of religion and see in many respects how it cannot be strong. We know, for example, that in obedience consists the strength of religion—but such religion has not learned this great truth, nor learned spontaneously to act upon it. It has, in every case, to consider whether *it is best* for it to yield and obey—which of itself is a weakening process. Such religion, again, that is a religion which is self-conscious in consequence of the absence of reverence for powers above it, must *continue* in that self-consciousness in order to sustain itself to itself—it cannot live without self-talk, it has no secret place of strength which is such a place *because* it is secret and known to God only; and so it falls into a habit of talking piously and soon learns to believe that religion can not be without such talk, neither in its own case nor in that of others. And this is a most pernicious and most pestilent weakness. Again, it is not sufficient to this kind of religion to pray “thy will be done,” it must take upon itself to suggest *what* that will shall be—and if disappointed, is, of course, unprepared for the trial. Indeed it is characteristic of this form of religion that *it cannot stand trial*, and its weakness, together with its unbeautiffulness will always be revealed thereby. It is dishevelled by adversity, it is angered by opposition, it is opprobrious under rebuke, it can by no means refrain from rendering evil for evil. We have never seen an un-



beautiful form or phase of religion which was other than weak, we have never seen such a form of religion which had power to refrain from bringing a railing accusation, in some way, when touched or tried. We do not mean to say that the whole of that religion which is nurtured under the constraining admonition of beautiful forms will always be well-balanced and consistent, but we do mean to say that those who have a heart to yield their will and being to the influence of them, will attain to a perfectness of religious character not otherwise to be acquired. We give all praise to the active Christian benevolence of this age and day, but true religion is something more than benevolence, and we very much doubt whether the piety which exalts *giving* above *worship* can be the most enduring. We do, at least, believe that it is a stronger thing to be a *saint*, we are sure it is more beautiful, and we are very sure it is most rare.

It is possible that in certain cases where the principle of the sanctity and power of beauty as an element of Christian culture is not directly acknowledged in the ecclesiastical system, the deficiency may be made up to some extent by means of literary culture and the loving study of the works of God in nature. But even in the comparatively few whose tastes and opportunities might lead them this way, there is some danger in the process. A certain conflict, or at least bewilderment, must be started in that man's conscience who has come to feel the presence everywhere in the world and in providence, in society and in the written speech of men, of a beauty which he knows to be Divine, and finds no recognition of the same in his express religious system. He must, by a conscious act, make a separation between the religion of his daily life, and that of his Sunday service. And this is a dangerous state, because it starts up a collusion where legitimacy requires that there be a coincidence only. Where in the case of a man of taste his church system does not sanctify beauty, he will prosecute the study as a separate interest, and so doing he will become conceited and vain; in the case of a

man in society, it will engender a conflict between fashion and conscience where safety to *him* can only exist in his running away—which he will not do. And generally, the absence of the acknowledgment of the holiness of beauty in any church-system, is a bondage ever engendering snares in the case of the young—the Sabbatical system cannot be kept up, the aesthetical interests of men are altogether too strong for it—and the conscience must suffer as the consequence of every supposed violation. Thus religion itself is made to consist in adiaphoristic shibboleths—and the same Synod which votes dancing a sin can vote itself with as little hesitation into the denial of any proper ministerial office, and of any supernatural function in the holy sacraments. Assuredly it is not a *comfortable* state of things for the Christian who, having sought to attune his mind to the knowledge of God through His works, by the aid it may be of David, or Isaiah, or St. John, then finds that his church-service so far from helping him to keep up the impression, obliterates it at a dash. It is not a pleasant experience for one who in view of some large and venerable council of his ministers, has looked on the movements of the assembled body and begun to be reminded of the feelings he has had when contemplating certain of the inspired descriptions of the Church, or even when beholding the array of the heavenly hosts, and then go down to any one of the congregations represented and be obliged to ask himself, where has the glory departed? The impression made by a large ecclesiastical council, solemnly and orderly proceeding, is a purely aesthetic one; numbers, order, solemnity, together with the venerable old-age, wisdom, and goodness, thus assembled, produced for the time being, as it were, a liturgical effect; the effect, that is, of official order and sacramental array. It is strange indeed that minds fresh from such impressions, are not shocked by the empty bareness, and outrageous individualism of the congregational service into a more frequent sense of the abnormal egregiousness of extemporal worship. We suppose that the Episcopal Church is the only one

where this contrast between the magnificence of Conciliary prestige, and the service of the particular congregation, is not felt. The effect of this kind produced by her General Conventions is both more impressive than that of any American Ecclesiastical Council, and at the same time the alternative of the congregational service is accompanied with no violent sense of contrast. If this be so, then we think it furnishes, in the circumstances, one of the strongest possible attestations that her Liturgy is nigh to the perfection of beauty.

The lack of a capacity of appropriating beauty is an absolutely unmistakeable evidence of a deficient organization, whether it be in the case of a nation, a church, or of any other ethical corporation. That society *cannot* be a permanent one which cannot naturally ally itself to that which is beautiful. Every form of religion which has failed in arraying itself in the garments of beauty, has come short in the final result of strength, and has accordingly shown itself incapable of preserving a continuous identity. Every such society will recover its identity only by means of a spiritual reviving, and this will always lead to attempts towards making beautiful—for there can be no increase of holiness among men which does not at the same time make increase of beauty. Every revival of religion will at least make cleanly and fair its places of worship. But it will also go on to do more. It will add steeples, and organs, and columns, to the obliterating of its identity, so that at the last it shall know itself only according to the prejudice which happens to prevail, and which, of course, will be constantly changing with times and men. The ultimate effect of this will certainly be good, for it will tend to the final obliteration of denominational prejudice—but in the mean time this introduction into churches of beauty *not expressly consecrated*, will be dangerous in the same way that it is dangerous for the Christian professor under any religious system which ignores the sanctity of beauty, to go into polished society. Besides, the effect of the presence of beauty in a system where it is admitted by the im-

agination under protest of the religious consciousness, is incongruous to a painful degree. It is actually distressing to some, and those generally the most reverent minds, to see a minister in citizens' dress, preaching from the midst of the beautiful columns which flank the pulpit—it is most painful of all, to witness the ill-judged attempts of the same unliturgic administrator towards making beautiful his offices for marriage, and for burial. The whole thing everywhere and in all its exhibitions gives the impression of weakness at the root of things.

It is a deeper sign than is generally supposed. The awkward self-consciousness of any religious system which has not, as such, appropriated the aesthetic man, in its after attempt to sport with beauty in the way of fashion, is as clear an evidence of a deficient organization as could be showed. The absence of the natural verdure of the tree is not a surer sign of something at fault in its organization. The administrator under a completely organized system, whose permanent beauty has been the standing witness of its perpetual identity, will perform his offices as it were a second nature, and will use words and ways in service, which no other man could use without perpetual shame. It is even thus that the Church-liturgy, as light to the heavenly bodies, and as floral beauty to the living soil of earth, shows forth the witnessing lustre and brightness of ecclesiastical order, and stands as a tower of strength in second nature to the inspired economy of the Church.

For it is, and it can not but be the case, that the truth which *does not live* in connection with form, is ever at the mercy of opinion. If you can obliterate the dress which is connatural to the sentiment, you will thus confound the sentiment itself. Thus neither Methodism, nor Presbyterianism, are what they were, at first, in appearance, and they are as little like what they once were, in fact. The dress which is connatural to all religious puritanism, is of course, the dress of aesthetic nakedness. As long as this remains so the denominational identity may be with more or less clearness perpetuated;—but the moment that pu-

ritan bateness begins to assume the forms of fashionable beauty, that moment there begins a bewilderment of the system which must inevitably result in the confusion of its identity. That there is, for example, at this day any proper successor to the Westminster Assembly, we hold to be little short of preposterous to maintain. There are very few of the congregations of its descendants, in this land, where the doctrines of its Confession on the Sacraments, or on the visible Church, or on the tests of Church-membership could be preached without producing astonishment. It is possible that John Knox would as greatly astound their present habit of mind as would Cranmer, were either to appear in their pulpits. But, on the other hand, it is notorious that Cranmer could come into any one of his own churches, where the English language is used, and go on with any part to which the service might have proceeded, without a moment's hesitation, and almost without the notice of the congregation—strictly so, in case the part in the service were that of prayer. There is certainly a kind of identity here, which gives one an idea of strength. And this, let it be remembered, is, so far as we now wish to press the argument, a purely æsthetic one. Cranmer could minister and both Ridley and Latimer could preach to any of their congregations extant without exciting the slightest flutter, because of the power of sanctified beauty in preserving ecclesiastical identity. We cannot, in good conscience and all fairness, however, let the occasion pass without saying that it is not our belief that liturgical beauty inherently possesses such efficacy—it possesses it as being a connatural sign and product of that which, under the Lord Christ, has the efficacy, and that is both the power and grace of Order. We do not see how it is possible, on mere æsthetic grounds, for ministerial parity to make a full liturgical use of a properly beautiful liturgy—and that for the reason that, as a work of art, it must possess a multiplicity to the end it may possess a living unity—and that requires variety in Order. The power of a liturgy (as differing from a mere prescript form of

prayer) is tested in its highest offices and ceremonial. These will require an union of offices and administrators, as in holy communion with ordination, or with a church-consecration. The power of the liturgy will be shown by its capacity of solemnizing the congregation in such a way that the change of parts in the progress of service and the coming in of different administrations shall produce no confusion. When *well* conducted, one service passes into another without notice, and the coming in of different administrators only adds to the unity of the effect. It is manifest that a liturgy thus tested, as to its artistic capacities merely, must be a multiplicity in unity in several respects, the most important of which a parity of administration could in no real way secure. The Church-liturgy, as we all believe, is not an evolution out of the subjective devotions of the congregation. It is not a form of prayer and service which has accumulated by the contributions of the worshipping body. It is, like the ministry itself, an Apostolic gift through the Spirit to the worshipping body. Now the Apostolic liturgies, certainly when used in ordination, involved at least three distinct parts and functions. It has been said that a real unity is not possible in any case without the presence of a threefoldness—as it respects the present instance we are obliged to feel this philosophic canon to be true. The reading of a church-service in the congregation no more makes a liturgy, than the shining of a single star makes a system.

Somehow that word *liturgy* has come to be associated in men's minds with the words, order, powers, array, that is with something which is *seen* to be revolving, as it were, about a common centre towards one harmonious result. It involves, accordingly, beauty revealed to the sense of sight as well as to that of hearing. Now, if this may not be allowed to require a manifested subordination of functions, it certainly does require an orderly array in the matter of clerical vestment. It is scarcely congruous that a liturgus should minister the altar-service in the same vestment with which he preaches from the pulpit. If the de-



votions themselves are clothed in appropriated and permanent forms of beauty, it would seem to follow very naturally that the administrator should be robed accordingly. Generally we require that beautiful sounds should come from appropriately beautified instruments. We dress our organs according to the architecture of the building, and so should we dress our priests according to the style of their function and service. We are well aware that we are touching a tender point—but we see no reason except prejudice, wherefore it should be so. The veriest puritan living feels no objection to the introduction of beauty as addressed to the sense of hearing, in flowery figures of speech, from the pulpit, and will often think himself peculiarly edified by such a sermon—and yet the same man would be outraged by the most exquisite beauty in his church if addressed to the sense of sight in a sculptural baptismal font! He will admit to his ear, and sing with his tongue, the beautiful strains of holy song; and yet be maddened to fury sometimes, by the beauty of holy vestments addressed to the eye! Nay, you may even introduce beauty to the sight, provided you expressly say it is not meant to be religious. You may ornament your church-building with all the art of Greece and Rome, and especially your pulpit, seeing that is the principal thing, and we will have the world to know that we can have handsome churches as well as others; but as to considering this any part of religion, that would be formalism, and therefore we will use the communion-table for the convenience of our minister's hat, and a decent basin will answer for baptisms. We wonder they do not shut their eyes when a child is baptized lest the visible beauty of the service should engender formalism through that dangerous sense of theirs. Alas, the human mind is capable of strange inconsistencies.

It is not a little singular that Christian people should entertain such peculiar prejudice against the admission of beauty in holy things, as addressed to sight. This sense is not as sensuous (so to speak) as that of hearing. Music

is, in its nature, more carnal than visible representation. So that if formalism is the thing feared, it should rather be feared in connection with hearing than seeing. It is, moreover, a most expressly revealed principle of the New Testament, that the consummation of the redemptive work is revealed to this sense, and that of touch. The Jews only heard of salvation, to us it was given to see and to handle. There has been no such honor put by God upon any sense of man, as upon that of touch, as in the case of St. Thomas. That the word of life has been *seen, tasted, and handled*, forms the distinguishing characteristic of the completion of all Spiritual revelation. Nor is any principle hereof altered by the fact of our Lord's ascension. It is still true that Christianity differs from Judaism by the fact that we now see the salvation of our God. Before the Lord went out of our sight He "did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of His precious death and sacrifice, until His coming again: For in the night in which He was betrayed, he *took Bread*; and when He had given thanks, He *brake it*, and gave it to His disciples, saying, *Take, eat, This is my Body, which is given for you; Do This* in remembrance of me."

Now it is remarkable of this last great act of our Saviour, instituting a Sacrament which the whole Christian world acknowledges to be at the same time the most strengthening and the most beautiful feature of their religion, that it enjoins the most visible, tangible, and in every way actual, of all religious service. It is not only represented to the senses, but it is received and taken by means of the senses, and the Spiritual grace conveyed in it, is imparted through the active operation of the sensitive part of man's constitution. The taking of Holy communion, therefore, which is the strongest, the most Spiritual and the most beautiful act which the Christian man can perform, has been to the end of time made to be dependent upon the active and voluntary co-operation of that part of our nature which is supposed to constitute the essence of formalism. The Form is with absolute fixedness, one and the

same, and to continue the same till the Lord come in like appearance as He went. The mode of reception of the Spirit thereby is the same. The man who should wilfully shut his eyes, and refuse to handle and eat, could of course receive nothing except judgment. Things are said of this apparently simple and unpretending service which are said of nothing except the person of the Lord himself. And this is the service which, administered to the dying saint, is as it were the whisper of the heavenly love itself into the holiest quiet which this world can know; administered in the church is incomparably the most solemn, the most subduing, and the most beautiful of all holy service; and administered in council, before battle, or preparatory to any kind of exodus like that wherein its type was inaugurated, it is as the rallying-point of strength and victory for the host which carries with it the strongest strength of God.

The Church has from the beginning of controversy found all doctrine growing out of this, and the other sacrament. The subject we are now discussing is fully included in the same. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper teaches us that the highest spirituality in religion is in connection with the fullest inclusion of the elements which make up our sensuous nature, and especially those of sight and of touch. It also teaches us that the most beautiful act in divine service, is the most strengthening, and possesses most strength. When this simple service of the breaking of bread shall have been done, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the victory of the faith will have been accomplished. It teaches us that our devotions are to be adapted to that which the Lord has given to us; that as we are to pray according to a form given, so we are to worship and live and serve and obey, according to a form, which if any man presume to alter till the Lord come, he is guilty of the most fearful act of self-will imaginable. It teaches us that the Christian body has no power or knowledge of its own, either how to pray, or how to worship, or how to be organized, but is in all things and for

all acceptable service dependent upon the gifts of the Lord by His grace and Holy Spirit. It teaches us that the most important act of our faith is made peremptorily to lie upon the conscience, requiring us to worship the Lord at the highest, by actions apparently trivial and indifferent, and in an act which is præeminently the beautiful act of the sanctuary.

The one reply, in objection, is, the deed is explicitly commanded, and the beauty is spiritual. With the latter part of this reply we are content. The beauty is Spiritual, that is, it is beauty which is created and made and renewed by the Holy Spirit in connection with the breaking of bread and the pouring out of wine. To the first part of the objection, we answer that the deed specifically so commanded, only the more strongly fixes and perpetuates the principle, that the Lord is pleased to be worshipped by the obedience and devotion of our senses as well as by the sacrifice of our hearts. We serve the Lord indeed and in truth as well by bowing the body to His name, as by joining in prayers, provided we do so in either case heartily as unto God. In whatever way the rationale of the universally felt and acknowledged power and impressiveness of the act of holy communion be made out, this truth is fixed and made permanent by it, even to the end of ages, that strength and beauty are made coincident in the sanctuary. When the Psalmist prayed that strength might come to him from the holy place, he prayed that it might come from a place which had been beautified by the Spirit of God in sculptured magnificence whose pattern was furnished from Heaven, and in an ark of glory whose minutest measurements were given by God, and for the embellishment of which His Spirit entered into the men elected for the work. That ark, so divine and so beautiful, was made of the gold and silver, which the people, overshadowed by the power of God, bore with them through the sea. Over it the Shekina abode, and from out the midst of its cherubic splendors the voice of Jehovah spoke to His priests. After the forty years miracle of power in the wilderness, that ark of beauty first

led the way into the middle of Jordan, to the end of all that power, the beauty of Canaan, and in sight of it the people passed on to the possession of the land. With the loss of that ark in battle, came the loss of the people's strength. In connection with the desecration of some of the vessels associated with it, came the downfall of Chaldee's excellency.

And so throughout the whole and all parts of the divine economy, it will be found that the result of power is perfection, and that this perfection has every where its concurrent sign and efficient symbol, in beauty. It is the oeconomic prerogative of the third person of the Holy Trinity. In the work of creation, as we have seen, we hear nothing of the working of forces, we are told nothing of gravity or of anything of the kind. The foundations of the earth and the world are created, the Spirit rests upon the face of the deep, the creating power then manifests itself in the work of beauty, the light, the garniture of the heavens, the verdure of the ground, the beauties of Paradise, and finally the perfection of all in man. The intermediate system, which is that of the old covenant, will be found to follow the same analogy throughout. The new will be found to complete it. Now the one and perfectly sufficing answer to the objection that all things were changed by the coming of Christ, is the reply that all things were *finished*. If the imagination and sensitive part of our make are not addressed under the New Testament, then the Old Testament Scriptures are made obsolete, the inspired predictions concerning the Church, are no longer comprehensible, and the deepest phraseology of our faith is a myth. If the dispensation of the Spirit in the economy of grace has so essentially altered since the coming of Christ, then it is strictly legitimate to suppose it must have altered in the economy of nature. But we still find the face of the earth renewed in beauty, we still find the heavens garnished with the glory of the stars and of the clouds.

What is it that still rises up before the mind as we recall

what the word of holy writ says concerning the Church? In what other forms, almost, except those of beauty is the Church spoken of in the song of Solomon, in the writings of the sweet Psalmist, in the evangel Prophet, and in the Book of the Revelation? What would be left if you strike out from the holy Scriptures the words of the inspired imagination, and especially the words which the Spirit has thereby spoken concerning the glory of Zion, which is the glory of Christ? Let us beware, then, of that most truly perilous delusion, that what we give up of the *beauties* of holiness will be to the gain of its power. Religious Puritanism had its origin in this error, and the result shows that it is indeed perilous; for, whereas the system which Puritanism substituted stands revealed as weakness itself, by the sign of its legionary fragments, no one of which bears the likeness of its origin, the Prayer Book whose beauty it could not abide is this day showing, wherever the English language is spoken, that it is the strongest Institute of the Protestant world. Things are most powerful as our Lord and Redeemer made them, and He through his Spirit has caused that beauty and power shall be co-ordinate and inseparable elements in His Church. That Church is *His* beautiful bride, clothed in vestments fashioned for glory and for beauty, and it is at the same time His bannered host, going forth in the might of His strength, conquering and to conquer. That Church is as the tender flock that dimples the face of the far-off mountain, and anon it is the troop which pours down and covers the length and breadth of the earth. It is the lamb which the good Shepherd carries in His bosom, and it is a lion coming up from the swellings of Jordan. It is a city planted by the gently flowing river; and it is that city which filleth the whole earth, and which sits in the midst of mighty thunderings above the raging of the sea. It is something which is clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners. "Thou art *fairer* than the children of men," says that beautiful Psalm of the church's glory, the forty-fifth, "full of grace are thy lips *because* God hath



blessed thee forever"—and immediately, "*Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty.*" The collation of the twenty-ninth and the ninety-sixth Psalms, will show how the call to beautiful worship is coincident with the call of the God of all might to the nations, and will reveal in an instructive way, that remarkable usage of holy Scripture in speaking of the Church in terms and images of beauty and gentleness, suddenly, and often indistinguishably, running into terms and images of power in its irresistibleness, and its consuming terror to such as have not been won by its love. Even so the holy One, who is the perfection of beauty and the substantial Image of the divine love and omnipotence; He who breaketh not the bruised reed, is terrible in wrath, and the more so in that it is the wrath of the Lamb. The hand which blessed the little ones, drove out as with the power of God the profaners of His temple's beauty; the eyes which caused the troop of Judas to fall to the ground, melted Peter's heart into penitence; the body whose breaking saved the world, and to which all power has been given of the Father, was once that of an infant. The Godhead which was, and is, and is to be revealed in that Body, never rejected any act of love and devotion which was offered unto It, in life or in death, but did bless unto the ends of the earth the memorable woman who offered the costliest gift she had—and did also bless the widow's mite. The child of Bethlehem, the One who began to be about twelve years of age and was found of His parents in His Father's temple, is the One who is now at the right hand of majesty and power, is the Head of the whole creation in whom all things subsist, and is Himself the image and the substance and the wisdom and the might of the power of God. And He is the One whom if a man loveth not he is accursed, in-whom if he see no beauty he has no God, and whom if he call not Lord, he has not the Spirit. But if He be to him the One altogether lovely, then is He to him the conqueror of death and hell and Satan, and no man shall pluck him out of His hands.

To that degree, therefore, have beauty and power been made to commingle, and to interpenetrate each other, in the kingdom of grace, that it is forever and most profoundly impossible to deny the one without weakening the other. As well might you expect to make the marriage contract strong by disrobing it of its churchly sanctity, or to make a tree vigorous by preventing the growth of its leaves, as to attempt to add to the increase of holiness by divorcing the beauty of the Sanctuary from it. Beauty apart, is nothing and less than nothing; holiness is everything and more than everything; but the beauty of holiness is more than all, because Christ the Lord of life and glory has made it so. Men may grieve the Spirit by unbelief and formalism, as they do; but if it remains true to this day that the Spirit garnisheth the heavens, and reneweth the face of the earth, and filleth the Church with Christ's presence, then is it true that men may grieve the Spirit of holiness and power, by denying the work of the Spirit of order and beauty. It is our belief that the age, and the Christendom of the age, is apallingly full of the evidences of such denial, and of such grieving. We believe that the Spirit's work of order and beauty in the Sanctuary is the sign and sacrament of His work of love and unity, and that the human spirit which first laid its desecrating hand upon the holy and appropriate beauty of ritual and vestment and service, was permitted in judgment to go on to the further denial of Order, to its own confusion in the loss of power to hold itself together or to know its own original.

"I am resolved," says Pascal, "to do little things like great ones, on account of the majesty of Jesus Christ who does them in us, and who lives our life; and great things like things little and easy, on account of his omnipotence." Would that the misguided men whose hatred of the sign of the cross and collects and vestments has left its mark on the carved work of England's fairest cathedrals, could have received into their hearts such a resolve, and have kept it. Not all the disorder, and confuseness, and indistinguishableness, and omnipresent weakness of our American re-

ligion would, in that case, have had its present sad and fearful existence.

The question remains, *was* the beauty which the Puritans denied an *appropriate* beauty? In other words, what marks the limit to which beautiful things may be introduced into the house and service of God? It is not by any means an easy question to discuss, on abstract grounds, although there is a ground upon which the rule of action as it respects unity in relation to things indifferent would seem to be palpable enough. But it will be our endeavor to discuss this question by the aid of certain principles drawn from the aesthetic aspects of the subject which, to our mind, are plainly determinative. We think it can be shown that if the carved work of the sanctuary which the English puritans broke down, was a fair and adequate development of the Christian faith in that way, then it will follow that the puritans were wrong in their complaints against the Liturgy and that the Reforming bishops were right, both in having previously brought the Liturgy to what it was, and their successors, in refusing to yield any further reduction to the puritans. The argument will have to take for granted that the present liturgy of the Church of England fills full, and no more, and no less, the national architecture of her minsters. Our present space will alone permit us to delay upon one point. That one, however, will be decisive of all. It has respect to the chancel, which is or ought to be the seminal spot of every church-building since the most-holy place was set up in the tabernacle.

It seems, (and it forms one of the most remarkable pieces of architectural history in the world) that the square chancel is a distinguishing peculiarity of British Gothic, and that too notwithstanding many of the cathedrals were built by Continental builders where the Apse is universal, and notwithstanding the prevalent tradition and feeling of the superior architectural beauty of the Apsidal form, and its apparently far greater homogeneity with the general character of the style. "Thus," says a masterly paper on

symbolism printed in the Transactions of the New York Ecclesiological Society, "the original type of English chancel, with square east end, notwithstanding all the influence of Rome and the Continent, still maintains its ground, as a triumphant proof of the deep hold taken by the original planting of Christianity in Britain, and of its vital and unbroken continuity; and, that for this most precious gift of the saving Gospel of Christ Jesus, she is not by any means so greatly beholden to the bishop of Rome as is commonly imagined. This peculiarity of English churches is so decisive, so marked, so characteristic, that it is no wonder that the English Ecclesiologists have insisted on it as the proper rule, and have opposed the use of Apses at all in the Anglican Church, or any of its branches. They lay down the rule peremptorily that, at least "for the present, and until the principles of Ecclesiology shall be better understood, Apsidal ends are *strictly to be avoided* in modern churches."

We have said that herein is contained the most remarkable phenomenon known to Architectural history—and such it is, for the churches of England are the only ones known to Christian art, which have this peculiarity, and in retaining it they resisted the prestige of ecclesiastical power for centuries, and the (perhaps) even more powerful sway both of the fashion and beauty of art. For, the Apsidal chancel is not only most *Gothic*, judged according to the almost universal developement of the style, but is in itself the most picturesque and fascinating form of construction known to the building art. There must have been some very deep principle or instinct unconsciously at the root of this phenomenon. Let us endeavor to dig down to it.

The Apsidal chancel has its Architectural prototype unquestionably, in the Roman Corinthian circular temple and dome. The Architectural germ of the English chancel, we believe to be, the Grecian rectangular sanctuary. The Apsidal chancel found its way into Christian art through the Roman basilica, which was a merely civil building; so that its actual original was an element of this world. It

was the place where was seated the worldly king, or his representative, for the administration of justice and law. The Square chancel wrought its way, through Christian art, by a process of tentation and struggle which it would take a long time to trace, but which was due to the ever occurring revival of a Grecian feeling, and which was not suffered to fail of its mission till it had fixed on the soil of England a perpetual copy of the true chancel, whose form was adjusted upon a heavenly model, and which was the earthly residence, not of the king of men, but of the King of kings—the most-holy place of the temple of Zion. Every chancel, of course, of whatever aesthetic description, has its religious derivation from this most-holy place,—the chancel is to the church what the sanctuary was to the temple. The sanctuary represented the place of the abode of Jehovah, in other words, heaven, in other words, the Infinite Presence, in other words still, the presence of God to men. Now this we knew was done by means of a symbolism throughout, which was representative of God made manifest in the flesh—so that the final and full meaning, as St. Paul in Hebrews, has declared to us, of the most holy place of the temple, was CHRIST, the Infinite and Eternal God manifest, and present to men, in the Flesh. And this is the highest possible conception of the Infinite, which is conceivable to man. He that knows Christ in the tangible, actual, communicable, beauty of His divine-human nature, knows and has seen and has partaken of the infinite power and presence, in a way which no metaphysical conception can possibly begin to attain unto.

Now this great truth, that he that hath seen Christ has seen the Father—that the Infinite is made known in and through the definite and visible flesh of the Word,—was symbolized in the chancel of the temple by the form of a cube, and not by that of a circle or any part of a circle, (which is the essential form of the Apse). We think that the fact, of itself, ought to keep square the chancel of the Church, till the Lord come.

The circle is *not* the symbol of the infinite, to the Chris-

tian ; it was so to the heathen ; but to the Christian the symbol of infinite is the square. It is that which is tangible, precise, apprehensible, by means of its angles which define it in every direction—even as the infinite ONE has been revealed to man in and by the true and visible Humanity of the Son. Of this the circle is no symbol ; of CHRIST, the circle is no symbol. Neither a circular Apse, nor a circular Dome, much less a circular *host*, means the Lord “in a mystery,” nor means the infinite, except it may be to the heathen, whose only conception of the infinite is that of number and of indefiniteness. But this is by no means the infinite conception to the man that, by faith has seen the beauty and glory of Christ.

It is not, therefore, by any means, the highest Christian praise of the Cathedral, that it has a chancel which caps the climax of the building in the *exuberance of its architecture*. It is not the highest function, or the function, of the Church, to be crowded with that bewilderment of beauty into which the Apse inevitably runs, and which has made so splendidly confusing, the identical spot in the building which ought to be most solemn, most distinct, most apprehensible. For this is the glory of the chancel, that it does both in its form, in its contents, and in its ministry, symbolize and commemorate the Presence of the Saviour, and the fact of the Incarnation. As to its form ; by divine pattern the form for this symbolism is the square ; as to its contents (altar), we know the proportions of the ark of the covenant ; as to its ministers, we know that the veil was rent before the Lord sent forth His apostles, and that neither by reason of screens from in front or by chevets in the rear, ought that Altar which concentrates the symbolism to be overpowered or obscured. For, in reality, the Altar itself is the Chancel, even as the Lord's Prayer is the Liturgy. Now let any one imagine what that altar would be made, to his very holiest feelings, were it to be constructed according to the circular form of the Apse which in Italy and from thence filled the sanctuary with a confusedness both of architecture, and of ritual, and of ceremo-



nial show, which made the very altar indistinguishable, and led to the turning of it into a worse piece of positive indistinguishableness in order to bring it up to notice! It would indeed be a wickeder thing to make the Altar cylindrical in plan, than to travesty its dimensions in profile, as the Italian altar has done—but in *that* case it would appear to the eyes of all men how monstrously near to a “worldly element” it had become. The circular altar is of heathen Rome and belonged to the circular temple. The altar of the Basilica-apse *ought* to be a circle, and nothing but the instinctive feelings of the pious could have saved it from the desecration. The true altar is what the ark of the covenant typified, both as to form and as to meaning, and the true chancel is that place in the midst of whose proportions this rectangular altar may be conspicuously and homogeneously placed. And this will of itself secure it from being obscured, either by architecture, by ritual, or by clerical display. In the square chancel there is neither opportunity or temptation for either. Now, the Anglican ritual fills up every echo of this chancel, and is echoed back in answering response from choir and nave. The heart of the pious, the puritan himself being umpire, shall say which is the true altar-service, *this*, or that under the baldachino of the great Italian basilica, and shall decide according to the criterion of the “law and the testimony”—in *which* Sanctuary dwelleth the *strength* and *beauty* which the Psalmist speaks of? And, on the other side, the same good man shall again decide whether his fathers did well in wishing to destroy the carved work of these temples by allowing his heart to answer the question whether he was ever at religious service where he could more earnestly offer the prayer, “the *glorious beauty* of the Lord our God be upon us, and the work of our hands *strengthen* Thou it!”

Of this English square chancel, there are very many things we should desire to say, many in the way of speculation how it came, being so fugitively and so mystically Greek as it is, and how it happens that there turns out to

be so many singular correspondences in the same respect in the Liturgy—such an union of finite and indefinite, practical and ideal. We should also like to trace certain natural and moral resemblances parallel with these characteristics of Anglican architecture and ritual—how all true force and permanence exist in the unity of strength and beauty—of solid sense and ideal grace and fairness—and how the loveliness of nature is remarkable for its precision, which forms the basis of its beauty and not indefiniteness, and how great is the difference between that which is mystical and *mysticism*. We would, above all, like to show from some of the sentences of the apostle Paul, what a remarkable parallel there seems to be between the practical sense and reality, and glorious and mystical beauty of his writings, and the like characteristics, in their way, in an English square-chancel cathedral. And no good man who has ever witnessed the Anglican cathedral service ever doubted whether the Liturgy answered to the building, nor, if he will let his heart alone speak, can ever doubt whether the beauty of holiness, brought home through the senses, hath power over the conscience and deepest heart of man.

In the reality and actualness of the incarnation stands the truth and the mystical glory of it, and this reality and actualness are not witnessed to, either by an obscured altar or by an indefinite chancel. Nor, on the other hand, are they witnessed to by a communion-table made indistinct, nay well nigh invisible, by the overtopping prominence and unsanctified architectural profuseness of the pulpit, which represents the word preached to the-hearing ear.

We do hold, and we do in all good conscience hold, that the fact of the incarnation, in which stands all the life and power and beauty of holiness, may be obscured by a high pulpit, as well as by a high altar, and that herein there is some kind of resemblance between Geneva and Rome—the one by denying the holiness of beauty, the other by seeking to add worldly elements to the beauty of holiness. And here, again, we will let the pious puritan be the judge; for it is the *pious heart* that must settle this whole question.

Let us remind him that he *has* been offended, and most righteously so, by the Romish ritual which has crowded the altar and buried the priest in a profuseness and indistinguishableness of overlay which bears the character of pomp, and is felt to be offensive because it is felt not to be sanctified—in other words, it is worldly. But have his feelings of the holiness of sacred things ever been thus offended by the Anglican service—by its Communion, its Baptismal, its Burial offices? Has the prominent Altar, the manifest and beautiful font, the surpliced minister, the kneeling communicants, the pealing organ, or the pillared nave, ever offended his deepest religious feelings when happening to be at such service? And, on the other hand, have not his most sacred feelings often been grieved at the painful indiscretions of unliturgic service over the dead, at the awkwardness, if not irreverence, of the unrobed ministers over the communion table, and at the still more distressing attempts of the unrobed *affectors* of beauty in the pulpit, on the platform, and everywhere? If so, the fact should show him that in sanctified beauty there is at least the power of good sense and the strength of a becoming behavior. He would not either in church or at anniversaries have his feelings so often shamed for the lack of good judgment in his ministers, had they been accustomed to the *good taste* of vestment and liturgy.

This much is certain, as matter of fact, that a certain practical good sense, without which there is little permanent power in men or nations, a nice sense of propriety, a fine discriminating wisdom, remarkable solidity and force of style, and a singular energy in action, have very much constituted the literary, religious, theological and national characteristics of that people whose religion is, of the whole body of the Reformed Faith, universally admitted to be the most liturgically beautiful. Writers possessing such an union of gracefulness and force, of sweetness and majesty, of ideality and solidity, as Ridley, Hooker, Andrewes, Taylor, are scarcely to be elsewhere found. The *surpliced clergy* of England from the time of Cranmer can

assuredly show *bulwarks of strength and permanence*, in every department, whether of piety, charity, learning, or missions. The Service which can count as many Hebers and Thorntons as theirs, must be supposed to possess power to educate, of the profoundest description. It certainly does undertake expressly to sanctify every power and faculty of the redeemed man, not the least of which are his senses and imagination. The beauties of Divine Service ministered and loved and venerated to enthusiasm, by such men as Arnold, and Coleridge, Armstrong and Southey, the present Bishop of Oxford, and Gladstone, must have something both peculiarly strong and holy and sensible and beautiful about it. A perfect Christian gentleman is the highest style of man—it is not possible without the religious sanctification of that capacity of beauty which was breathed into him by the Spirit, is addressed by the Spirit in nature and in Revelation, and is consummated by His seven-fold gifts to the Church. "Out of Zion the perfection of beauty, God hath shined," and there, according to the Prophet, "is the hiding-place of the rays of His Power." It is the power, not to be beautiful, but to be holy, which is beautiful. Alas, religion consists not in sabbatism or in pietism; neither in denying the beautiful garniture of our redeemed and sanctified humanity, nor in substituting for it the pomp of religious cant or the pomp of unsanctified art. Would that the Spirit of holiness and might, who is also the Spirit of order and wisdom and beauty, might give us grace to feel the truth, and so to be attracted and drawn together again by the beauty of holiness as to go forth in the strength of unity to conquer by the might of its Power.

## ART. III.—MEMOIR OF DR. J. W. ALEXANDER.

Forty Years familiar letters of James W. Alexander, D. D., constituting, with the notes, a memoir of his life. Edited by the surviving correspondent, John Hall, D. D. In two volumes. 8vo. pp. 412, 379. New York: Charles Scribner. London, Sampson Low, Son & Co. 1860.

The memoir of Dr. James W. Alexander, of which we propose to give a general idea, and mainly by extracts from the letters which compose it, is remarkable for the large portion of his life the correspondence covers; beginning when he was a mere youth of fifteen, and ending only at his lamented death. Such a correspondence must, for obvious reasons, be of very rare occurrence. We know of no other precisely similar instance in the annals of literature. It is equally remarkable that in so extended a series of familiar letters, written with a perfect *abandon*, there is so little which can justly be regarded as objectionable. There are, indeed, occasionally sharp criticisms on persons and measures, and at times an exaggeration of remark and prejudiced temper with regard to some of the almost innumerable topics touched upon in the correspondence. The reader will discover also, some instances in which the writer at one time takes a favorable, and at another, an unfavorable, view of the same subject. His opinions are modified and changed by circumstances, by his advance in knowledge and experience, or by a more careful attention to the questions he discusses. But this is perfectly natural, and therefore adds to the interest in the delineation of his character. Nor do we suppose that we have any right to judge the incautious and confidential expressions of his floating opinions and feelings, with the strictness and severity we should consider to be proper, had they appeared to be more deliberate and had they been intended by himself for the public eye. As he was gentle, winning and loving in public, we should expect that the

angles of his thoughts and opinions would be more likely to appear in his private and intimate intercourse. As he was no noisy polemic, and yet lived in an era of great polemical excitement, in which his own beloved Presbyterian Church was rent in twain by exciting questions, we must expect to meet in these letters, as is the case, very plain expressions of his views as to the questions in dispute, as well in other Ecclesiastical bodies as in his own. But judging of these and kindred matters by a fair rule of criticism, we feel free to declare, after a careful perusal of these volumes, that the reputation of Dr. Alexander comes forth from one of the most trying ordeals to which a reputation can be subjected—Humboldt's has collapsed under this test—as clear, and bright, and pure as ever.

Dr. Hall, in his preface, properly remarks—“The highest advantages of the method adopted would have been sacrificed had the editor, for the sake of producing an appearance of uniformity in his friend's opinions and positions, suppressed the evidence of such fluctuations as every independent and investigating mind is open to. With this view I have suffered to stand some diversities of his judgment, at different times, or in different lights, on points of theology, church-order, church-policy, slavery and other topics. And I am sure I should not have been excused had I at all subdued the light and playful tone in which many of the letters are written, or attempted any amendment of the abrupt transitions and off-hand phrases so characteristic of the unstudied, unrevised expression of the uppermost thoughts at the moment of writing. To have changed his manner would have been as great unfaithfulness to the full delineation of my correspondent, as to have concealed his sentiments. It may reasonably be expected, also, that there will be accorded to these letters the indulgence almost as claimable for a correspondence of this kind, as for ordinary conversation, of strong, and even exaggerated language; when every thing in the connexion and style shows that these allowances are due. It would be the highest injustice to throw the private writings of another



before the world, if such a consideration as this could not be depended on." It was undoubtedly because the Editor felt certain this would be the case that he ventured to do, what in any other view would have been better left undone, unveil to the cold eye of a critical public, the most private thoughts and feelings, the playful *nugas*, the sacred domestic trials and sorrows, the very prayers, vows and tears of a friend who had unbosomed himself to him so completely. Having decided to give these letters to the public, Dr. Hall shows the boldness of an assured confidence in the result by giving freely, and copiously, and honestly, page after page of matter which very few editors would have thought it proper or fitting to furnish. It is in this particular that the memoir shows either its greatest fault or its greatest excellence as the reader may choose to consider it. Probably most readers will have a similar experience to our own—read onwards at first in amazement at the completeness of the revelation, and the want of caution almost every letter displays; then, as we become better acquainted with the genial character of the writer, and are taught by his own pen, unconscious of the effect it is producing, to estimate aright the noble qualities of the writer, we feel that we are enjoying an unusual and valuable privilege in being thus freely admitted to his intimacy and confidence; while long before we reach the close of the second volume, we have learned to love the noble man whose private worth outweighs even his public reputation.

JAMES W. ALEXANDER, the eldest son of Archibald and Janetta Alexander, was born March 18th, 1804. The place of his birth was the residence of his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Dr. James Waddle, (Wirt's "Blind Preacher") in Louisa county, Virginia, on an estate called Hopewell, near the present site of Gordonsville. In the month of December, 1807, his father, having resigned the presidency of Hampden Sydney College, and accepted the call of the Third Presbyterian congregation of Philadelphia to be their pastor, the family removed to that city, where their residence continued until July, 1812; when Dr. A. Alexan-

der, who had been chosen by the General Assembly as their first professor of Theology, entered upon the duties of his office in the Seminary at Princeton. Under different instructors at Princeton James received a good English and classical training; and he entered the Freshman class, in the college of New Jersey at Princeton in the spring of 1817, and graduated there in September, 1820. It is evident, from his letters, that he entered college at too early an age to appreciate its advantages, and that, in consequence, he made but little profitable use of his opportunities. In his letter of Aug. 23rd, 1822, he writes

"I presume I need not tell you that my time spent in college ran sadly to waste; indeed, I cannot look back upon the opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge which I then abused without shame and regret. Like most brainless and self-conceited boys, I undertook to determine that such and such studies were of no importance, and made this an excuse for neglecting them, although the wise of every age have united in declaring their utility. I was foolish enough to suffer all my previous knowledge of classical literature to leak out *e cerebro*, and consequently I found myself a much greater dolt when I was invested with the title and immunities of an A. B., than when I entered as an humble Freshman. I had acquired, not a vast amount of erudition, but an insufferable budget of silly opinions, self-conceited views of my own abilities, and innumerable vicious habits, which alone are sufficient to neutralize all the good which a college course can give in the way of knowledge."

During the spring and summer of 1820 his mind became engrossed with the subject of personal religion. The first relief he obtained, is described by himself in the following record: "On Sept. 3rd, 1820, walking across the field hardly daring to ask for faith or repentance, these words burst upon my mind. '*Waiting for the moving of the waters.*' I saw myself the impotent man in a moment, and I thought that Christ had been saying to me, '*wilt thou be made whole?*' hundreds of times in my hearing, but now it

seemed to be addressed particularly to me. From that moment I felt able to trust my whole hope and life upon the Lord." He delayed for awhile a public profession of religion, but the return of his birth-day, and the death of a young friend made him unwilling to risk further postponement. He was received to full communion by the session of the Princeton Church, March 30th, 1821, and sat at the Lord's table for the first time, on the following Sabbath, April 1st. On the 13th of that month he made the following private entry: "When I look forward to future life, a dreary darkness presents itself. What am I qualified for? I never can, in conscience, embrace any other profession but the 'gospel of Christ;' but alas, where are my qualifications? I *never, never* can be a speaker." He seems now to have begun a life of study in earnest, and to have applied himself with vigor to the task of repairing as rapidly as possible the loss of time in college. In the same letter, written in 1822, from which we have already quoted, he says,—“To proceed with my egotistical harangue, (for I have nothing better to give you,) I have devoted most of my time since [my graduation] to classical reading, and my eyes, I think are opened in some measure to those beauties, which, blinded with ignorant self-sufficiency, I was unable to perceive formerly. It is the fashion of this superficial age to decry the study of ancients, and more so in America than in Europe, more among the idle and ignorant coxcombs of this day, than the men of science and taste. I had caught this song at college, and like other *graduated fools* I presumed to laugh at those authors who have been the models of taste, and fountains of polite learning, for more ages than we have lived years. Homer was a favorite butt for my ridicule. I have read the old fellow's Iliad twice through of late, with new pleasure at every opening, and it is my intention if my life be spared to spend one hour *per diem* for the rest of my life in reading classics. If you are curious to know what I am now studying,—I have been for some weeks upon metaphysics, another of my old despicable; I now

am much enamoured with it." On Sept. 10th, 1822, he writes—"when I commenced studying [the classics] after I took my degree, it was merely from a sense of their importance, and not from any love to them. I detested them as most nauseous, and felt disposed to esteem all their admirers arrant pedants and crack-brained fools. But still I persevered. Mr. Hodge and I devoted an hour each day to the study of the Latin and Greek writers, and continued this practise for eighteen months during which time we had read several authors: and the effect has been a thorough revolution of my taste. I could now obey Horace's exhortation, and spend my days and nights in perusing these authors. . . . . I hope you will not determine to forswear the reading of these authors as I did when I left college."

He entered the Theological Seminary in 1822, and continued a regular student therein for two years. After his election as tutor in the college in 1824, his connection with the seminary appears to have been casual. The following extracts will give a view of his feelings and studies and habits in the seminary. "Dec. 31st 1822. . . . . I will now proceed to give you some account of my course of life. I rise at half after six. Public prayers in the Oratory at 7. Breakfast at 8. From 9 to 9½, I devote to bodily exercise. From 9½ until 12, Study. 12—1, Exercise. Dine at one. 2—3, I usually devote to works of taste, and to composing. 3—4½ at Lecture. 4½ Prayers. Until tea, at exercise. After tea, until 12 (at which time I close my eyes) Societies, study, &c.

Perhaps you think I exercise my *body* sufficiently. I find it absolutely necessary to my well-being, or almost to my being at all. You may think, too, that I do not study a great deal; true—and moreover that I need not complain of want of time for correspondence; true, at present I need not complain; I have plenty of time for writing, and general reading. At the beginning of the term, before I had fairly got into the harness, our business appeared too much to grasp; but it is now methodized, and I

find that I am quite a gentleman of leisure. To proceed: we recite twice in the week on Hebrew, once on Greek, once on the Confession of Faith, once on Biblical History. Hear Lectures once on Theology, (preparatory to the full and regular theological Lectures,) twice on Biblical history, once on the Criticism of the Original Scriptures, once on Jewish Antiquities. On Monday night, I attend a society for improvement in the criticism of the Bible; President, Mr. Dodge. On Tuesday night, the Theological Society, where every student delivers once in six weeks an original oration. On Thursday night, I am at liberty to attend an evening lecture at the college. On Friday night, Theological Society, where questions in ethics and divinity are discussed. On Saturday night, a weekly prayer meeting. On Sunday we have sermons from our three professors, and Prof. Lindely,\* in rotation.

The greatest advantage which I experience from being in the Seminary, and this is increased by my being an inhabitant of the house, is, that we live in a kind of literary atmosphere; all the conversation carried on here is of a literary kind; at table, in our walks, and wherever a cluster of us assembles, some lively discussion takes place which causes our time to fly very rapidly and pleasantly away. All our opinions are brought into the arena of free discussion, and we must defend them or relinquish them. Opinions founded upon ignorance, or prejudice, habits and manners which are unpleasant, and almost every eccentricity which is fostered during the course of private education, is here likely to be rubbed off. So pleasant is my whole course of life here, that I feel not the least desire to go out into the great world.

But amid all my comforts, I am miserable unless when I am enabled to found my satisfaction and contentment upon a broader basis than any thing temporal. I find no substantial unmingled pleasure except in a conscience void of offence; which that I may always possess is my earnest

\* Philip Lindely, D. D., the Vice President of the College of New Jersey.

and reigning desire. I know very well how repugnant it is to any one of nice feelings to have religion drummed into his ears, but I feel assured that a *word* in its favour will not offend you. I should be unworthy of the title of friend, if I did not endeavour in some feeble measure to make my friends partakers of the greatest happiness I can conceive of.

My habits have changed considerably since I entered the Seminary. I have bidden farewell to ennui, spleen, hyp., and all that class of old hangers on: also to the flute, to romantic air-castles, and walks in groves, to the company of ladies—item, to poetry, magazines, novels, &c., &c., too tedious to mention.

Again Jan. 24, 1824, we have this passage—"I do desire to see learning prosper, to be learned myself; I desire to be happy in the good things of this world, so far as consistent with virtue; I desire to commend Christianity to the world by all that charm which courtesy and cheerfulness can give to as rude a piece as I,—yet I could curse myself, (however unfaithful I may be now, or alas may be hereafter,) if I thought that I could ever consent to make merchandise of the cross, by bartering it for aught of earth. My wish is, in my humble measure, to make every effort tend to one point, the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth, and in the hearts of men."

From May, 1824, to Sept. 1825, he was a Tutor in the College of New Jersey. His letters show that in addition to his regular duties as a Tutor, he devoted himself with ardor, to an extended course of classical study and general reading. We judge, from the letters written during and after this period, that his health was never perfectly good from this time forward. He appears to have suffered almost every succeeding year, from a constitutional predisposition to bilious disorder, and the attendant train of low spirits, nervousness and melancholy. And yet he does not seem to have permitted disordered health to get the better of his native kindliness and politeness. President Talmadge, of Oglethorpe University, Ga., in a public letter, written in August, 1859, thus describes him at this period:



"We were placed on terms of very intimate intercourse and communion as fellow-tutors during the year 1824. He had become pious since we had parted as students, and I now saw much of his inner life, as he disclosed it but to few. He had grown graver in manner, and somewhat prone to pensiveness of spirit. To the public eye he seemed retiring and apparently distant. But when with a friend in a retired walk, or in the *abandon* and intimacy of private personal intercourse, he was the most cheerful of companions, abounding in playful remark and discriminating observation. He had a keen relish for the humorous, and a nice appreciation of the virtues and defects of his fellow-men. He had a perfect horror of cant, pretension, bigotry, exclusiveness, and was himself remarkably free from all these failings, thus imparting an irresistible charm to his intercourse with friends.

"His piety was, even at that period, deep toned, and remarkably advanced for one of his age. He was at times overwhelmed with a sense of sinfulness, and has told me that often he could scarcely refrain from crying out in the college chapel from an awful sense of guilt before God, under the pungent appeals of the beloved Professors of the College and Theological Seminary, although he was sitting on the stage before the assembled students as one of the Faculty."

We should be glad, if we had the space, to make copious extracts from his letters written during this portion of his life; especially from those in which he urges upon his friend the claims of the Gospel of Christ. They are models of an affectionate interest in a friend's eternal welfare; in which the anxiety to gain his friend is displayed in connection with strong reasoning on the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith, tempered by gentleness, love and modesty.

He was licensed, as a probationer for the ministry, Oct. 4, 1825. After exercising his gifts by preaching in New York and the vicinity of his home, on the 1st of December he started on a tour to Virginia, to visit his friends and

relatives in his native region. He was kept busy from the moment he entered the State. Writing from Petersburg, Dec. 23rd, he says: "Scarcely had I reached this place before I found myself under commands to hold forth at the rate of five or six times every week; and in addition, there is hardly a day in which nine or ten hours are not taken up in giving and receiving visits." He preached his first sermon in the church at Charlotte Court House on the 16th of April, 1826; and shortly after received a call to serve that church, as pastor. He was ordained and installed March 3d, 1827. It is somewhat singular that this had been his father's first settlement, and that the coincidence of the father and son having their first pastorate over the same congregation has been recently extended to the third generation, the eldest son of Dr. J. W. Alexander having been called to the same pulpit.

About this time he writes,—“You ask me what I am doing? It is a question soon answered: preaching, riding, visiting my charge and studying, principally Hebrew. I have read a good deal of French lately, and also twelve books of the Iliad in Greek. I would try to write for the Quarterly, but I do not know what to review.” In July, 1827, he gives the following list of his reading,—“I have been reading the second number of the American Quarterly, also Mad. de Staels' French Revolution, also George Buchanan's Latin Poems, also such of Cicero's books as I own, greatly longing to possess them all; also some of the works of Rapin, Pascal, De la Houssaye in French; of Owen, Baxter and Boston, Bates and Cecil in English; Maastricht, Mark, Witsius in modern Latin, and Calvin, Dwight and McDowell in modern English; also Peter's letters, by Lockhart, and a course of Mathematics.” It is not surprising to read immediately after this list,—“I have not written a single sermon since I have been in Charlotte, though I have composed more than a hundred.”

In August, 1827, he was brought very low by an attack of bilious fever, and was compelled, as soon as he had sufficient strength, to return home to Princeton. In Oct.,

1828, he says,—“As to my future course in life, I am able to speak only negatively ; I shall never seek a settlement south of the Potomac, unless driven to it by necessity.”

Having received a call to the church at Trenton, New Jersey, he accepted it. He preached his farewell sermon at the Charlotte church, Dec. 28th, 1828, and his first sermon at Trenton, Jan. 10th, 1829. He remained pastor in Trenton until the close of 1832. He was married at the residence of Mrs. Le Grand, near Charlotte Court House, on the 18th of June, 1830, to Miss Elizabeth C. Cabell, daughter of George Cabell, M. D. In 1833 he was Editor of “*The Presbyterian*,” in Philadelphia. From 1833 to 1844 he was Professor of Belles Lettres in the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. From 1844 to 1849 he was the pastor of the Duane St. Presbyterian church in New York city. In May, 1849, he was elected by the General Assembly Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton. He also took charge of the department of Sacred Rhetoric. He continued in the Seminary until May, 1851, when he became the pastor of the 5th Avenue Presbyterian church, in New York. This church was built for him ; and while it was being erected he visited Europe. He again made a European tour in 1857. He died, the honored and celebrated pastor of the 5th Avenue church, at the Red Sweet Springs, Va., whither he had gone as a last resort for his declining health, July 31st, 1859, declaring as the sum of his faith and hope, “I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.”

We have thus briefly given the reader an account of the public positions successively filled by this eminent man, in order that we may have space to extract from the memoir, several characteristic letters, and passages from letters, written at different periods of his life.

*Trenton, May 4th, 1829. (Aged 25.)*

“I have been reading Terence lately with much pleasure. He is the only Latin poet in whose wri-

tings I have ever found simple pathos. I might except some of Virgil's sad descriptions, but in the case of Virgil, the pomp of the verse, and the artificial epithets, detract from the effect. In the *Andria* and *Hecyra* of Terence, there are some of the most charming touches of deep feeling. Erasmus knew Terence and Horace by heart. Who ever could say as much for Milton or Pope? I have seen a man who could repeat four books of *Paradise Lost*.

I am fully persuaded that there is no department in which a man may be so sure of arriving at eminence as in the modern languages. All my study of this kind has been for amusement, and yet I am surprised at my own progress, and convinced that one who would devote himself to the subject, might in five years have the choice of authors in German, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and Portuguese. A scholar in modern languages may take what department he chooses, read always what is entertaining, and yet have the reputation of a great linguist or critic.

If I had the access which you have to libraries of French and Italian works, I should make these languages a main object; but where one must buy every book, at an exorbitant price, the private student labours under great disadvantages. Will you oblige me by purchasing "A selection from Italian prose-writers, with translations according to the Hamiltonian system"? My reasons for wishing this is, that my greatest difficulty in languages arises from the particles, and little words, especially auxiliary verbs, and oblique cases of pronouns, as well as adverbs and conjunctions which have various meanings. These may all be learned in a week's time from a living teacher, or a very literal translation. I find no books so well adapted to take away the darkness of a new language as travels and biography. I wish to get Goldoni's life by himself, if it can be procured separately. Is the life of Bocacio at a moderate price? Quere. How could we exist if so separated as to have our correspondence by letter broken up? After ten years' use it has become with me almost a necessary of life. I have just read Carter's travels, [in Europe,] and

like it well, with two exceptions. 1. He is forever foisting in the classics, reading Catullus on the grass; Horace in the diligence; Virgil passim: while he betrays a wonderful ignorance in some simple points of antiquity, does not know what a Hermes is, which Kennet might have taught him, and denies the well-known tradition of Luke's having been a painter. 2. He compares every thing with New York, and makes out the latter the greatest city in the world."

His correspondent having relinquished the practice of the Law, and turned his attention to Theology, in preparation for entering the ministry, we have these two letters among others:

*Trenton, November 21, 1831.*

I thought, and still think, that my last contained every thing with reference to your proposed course of study which I am able to communicate, except in the matter of books, which I now take up as being the most important item of your inquiries. And first, I must altogether decline attempting a precise, exact enumeration of the works which must be read. *Nemo dat quod non habet*. If I had such a list, three-fourths of my daily reading might be spared. Such a list must vary with the peculiar character of every individual's studies, and the rather in your case, as you propose a course not altogether regular. I could not venture to name such books on my own responsibility. When at Princeton, the Professors used to name, at the end of each lecture, the best authors for consultation on these topics; and a list digested in this manner, might be made without difficulty, though it would fill a quire of paper. To do as well as I can, however, as you have laid out of the inquiry works on the "Evidences," and as I suppose you to know as well as myself what books are standard in Ecclesiastical History and Hermeneutics, I shall confine myself to Theology.

1. *Works Introductory, or showing how to study.* Taylor's Scheme of SS. Div., (in Watson's Tracts, vol. 1;) Leighton's Lectures; Franke's Guide.

2. *Systems.* Turretine or Pictet, (French,) for the Reformed; Stackhouse for the Arminians of England; Richard Watson for the Wesleyans; Ridgely; Dwight.

3. *Character of God.* Clarke's Sermon's; Witherspoon, vol. 4; Saurin, vol. 1; Paley; Charnock on Div. Att.; Tillotson, vol. 1; Hopkins, vol. 1; Edwards on God's Last End; Emmons.

4. *Trinity.* Horsley; J. Pye Smith; Woods; Stuart; Ware; Norton; Channing; Morus Epit. Theol. Christ.; Sherlock's Vind. of Trin.; Priestly; Belsham's Essays; Jamieson's Vindication; Bates' Works; Abaddie on Div. of Christ; Nares' Remarks on the improved Version; Bulli Defens. Fid. Nisæ; Pearson on the Creed; a chapter of Hooker's Ecc. Polity; Owen on the Person of Christ; Wardlaw; Wynperse; Clarke on the Trinity; Alix's Judgment of Ancient Jewish Church; Mordecai's Analogy; Socinus; Select parts of Barrow; Calvin; Döderlein and Platt.

5. *Decrees, &c.* Calvin; 5 Edwards, 351-500; 1 Turretine; 1 Hopkins, c. 4; Arminii Opp. pp. 98, 458, 634; Twisse (supra-lapsarian) de Scientia Med.; Zanchii de Predest.; 4 Witherspoon, 75; Fuller's Gos. Worthy, &c.; Baxter's Cath. Theol., part 1; Witsii Econ. Fœd. B. iij. c. 4; Dickinson on the 5 points; Whitby on the same; Cole on Sovereignty of God; Scott and Tomline; Oeuvres de Claude, vol. 4; Edwards on Will; West's Moral Agency; Priestley, Lib. and Necessity; Leibnitz cont. with Clarke, (usually bound together, in Latin and French;) Collins on Necessity; Warburton's Div. Leg., p. 1, p. 46; 1 Hopkins; Kings' Origin Evil; Williams' Vindication.

6. *Original Sin and Depravity.* Taylor on Or. Sin; Edwards do.; 1 Smalley's Sermon's; 1 Turretine; Whitby on O. S.; 1 Emmons; Stapfer, (who treats the whole range of polemics; Witsii Ec. Fœd., vol. 1; Boston's Fourfold State; 4 Witherspoon; Scott and Tomline; Wesley's Sermons; Strong's Sermons; 1 Bellamy; Burgess on O. S.; Spring's Disquisition; Fletcher's Appeal.

7. *Atonement.* Daubeny on Atonement; Magie; Griffin; Be-



man; Owen's Vind. Evang.; Outram de Sacrificiis; Calvin, Turretine, &c; Selections on the Art.; West on At.; Taylor and Hampton; Wardlaw on Extended At.; Bates, Murdock's, Stuart's and Dana's Sermons; Fuller's and Scott's Essays; Edward's, (select); 1 Bellamy, 390; Burge on At.; Barrow's Sermons on Univ. Redemp.; Grotii de Satisfac., (a noble work on the "forensic" question;) Owen's Salus Electorum; Van Maestricht, De Moor, and Marckius on all Calvinistic points; Veyssie's Bampton Lectures.

8. *Regeneration.* Besides above: Owen on Spirit, (large;) Bellamy, Scott, Witherspoon, Doddridge; Witsius; 2 Charnock; Noesselti de interno test. Spir. Sanct.; Backus on Reg.; Edwards; Park St. Lectures; Dwight; Hopkins on Holiness; Fiddes' Treat. on Morals; Edwards' Affections.

9. *Justification.* Oeuvres de Claude; Owen on Just.; Witherspoon; Taylor's Key to Romans; Edward's on Just.; 2 Barrow, 41; 2 Lillotson, 346; Bulli Opera, Harmon. Apost.; Tuckney's Prælect. I. p. 26.

10. *Perseverance.* Dickinson; Whitby; 1 Wesley's Sermon; Zanchii Miscell. de Persev. Sanct.; De Moor; 5 Toplady; 2 Gill, 313; 1 Newton, 162; 2 Hornbeck's Compend. B. 1, c. 4.

11. *Future State—Heaven and Hell—Universalism, &c.* 1 Belsham's Essays; 1 Priestly on Matthew and Sp.; 2 Hopkins, 213; Warburton; Tillotson, Ser. X.; 2 Barrow, 343; Bates and Howe in loco. Edwards agt. Chauncey; Ballou; Huntington's Calv. Improved; Strong's Benevolence and Misery; Purves' Humble Attempt; 2 Döderlein, 173; Burge on Atone. Appx.; Spaulding's Univ. destroys itself; 1 Hammond's W. 709; Foster's Nat. Religion, c. 9; Simpson's Essays, p. 1; Godwin on Punishment of Sin.

12. *Sacraments.* Clinton on Bap.; Worcester do.; P. Edwards; Baldwin, do.; Wall on do.; Waterland; Gale agt. Wall; Addington's Reasons; Judson and Pond; Gill; Tenney's Summ. View; 2 Tillotson, Sermon. 25; Grove on L. Supp.; Doolittle, do.; Hall and Mason on Com.

I must here pause; I have drawn the above from lists

which I have, and from general recollection, and am after all persuaded that it will be of no manner of use to you ; yet your request laid me under an obligation to try, and I have really done what I could. Your wants, as they rise, will direct to inquiries which can be better answered in detail. Your course of study cannot but be profitable. I suggest one objection to your "paraphrase"—perhaps it has no weight ; will not the method of paraphrasing every passage tempt you to run ahead of your light, to define what is undefined, and supply what is unsupplied in your own mind, and thus to commit yourself prematurely ? Many a hiatus will occur ; for some passages can only be understood after a survey of the whole ground. However, judge of this yourself. I wish I could tell you of any thing specially encouraging in my congregation ; there is nothing, and as usual I can trace the great fault and deficiency to my own door. Nothing of moment in church or state has reached my ears. I am sick of imbecile revolutions in Europe, and unchristian squabbles at home. O for a corner where Theological warfare is unknown !

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*Trenton, December 26, 1831.*

Have you ever read any of Abp. Leighton ? If not, I conjure you to take the book up in some calm moment, and read some ten pages by way of specimen. It is nearest to the beloved disciple John of any thing human I have ever read. I recommend this author, from sweet experience of his preciousness ; particularly his commentary on 1 Peter, which I am now concluding for the second time. He was a hater of polemics, and shared the usual fate of all moderate men. I have filial weakness enough to think my father has some traits in common with him. I think you are pursuing the best possible method in learning Hebrew. It would give me unspeakable satisfaction to have Mr. Leeser's\* instructions. Make the most of them. If

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\* The learned Isaac Leeser, now minister of the Franklin Street Synagogue in Philadelphia. I cannot forbear quoting the following sentence of a note received from Mr. Leeser when this page was in the printer's hands :

I had him here, I would give a large piece of my salary to spend an hour with him every day. I read Hebrew several hours *per diem*, going through the Psalms once a month, and reading from four to ten chapters besides, in regular course, analysing a certain number of verses. The most I can say is, that my eyes are opened to the exuberant treasures of a boundless mine, while my instruments are still too awkwardly handled to make much of them my own. Let me recommend to you to spend as much time as you can conscientiously upon this study, as you know that in language, more than in any thing else, long intervals occasion the loss of much that is learned. The exegetical method of studying theology is certainly the right one. The simple view in which *systems* seem to me valuable, are as indexes to the subjects of Scripture. *Turretine* is in theology *instar omnium*; that is, so far forth as Blackstone is in law. I would not have you concur in all his scholastic distinctions; but the whole ground is traversed, every question mooted, and even where hairs are split, the mental energy and logical adroitness with which the feat is achieved present one with an exercise of reasoning equal to any thing in Chillingworth. I conscientiously believe I should say all this of him, if he were a Socinian. That he is not, but rather an ultra-Calvinist, I am pleased, for I find in him, among many that are untenable, triumphant arguments for all our doctrines. Making due allowance for the difference in age, Watson the Methodist is the only systematizer within my knowledge, who approaches the same eminence; of whom I may use Addison's words: "He reasons like Paley, and descants like Hall." How painful to think

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"If I had known that the funeral would have taken place on the day it did, I should have made it my duty to be at the grave which now encloses him; and if it had not appeared strange, I would have spoken parting words after the beloved. In Germany and France, at the interment of a man like Alexander, Jews and Christians mingle their regret by free speech and loud sympathy." Mr. Alexander's high personal respect for his Jewish friend and correspondent, did not prevent him from expressing his opinion of "Modern Judaism" in his review of Leiser's translation of Johlson; *Repertory*, January, 1881.

of Edward Irving's hallucinations! [the gift of tongues, &c.] Devoutly would I say: "Lord what is man!" These are among Satan's most cunning devices—and oh, how deep-rooted is that structure of truth, which has lived through a thousand such concussions, from without and from within! I have been reading the huge folio Journal of George Fox, the proto-quaker. I find in him more of unadulterated enthusiasm than I remember to have ever found exemplified; intolerable vanity, and spiritual pride; no acknowledgment of sin all his life-long; no trace of penitence; great bitterness of spirit, exceedingly little talent, ludicrous ignorance of the doctrines he opposes, *perhaps* evidence of piety. A vast difference between him and the editor of the book, William Penn. How I should like to join you in Hebrew with Mr. Leeser! We have not a Jew in Trenton, nor any Hebrew scholar, and it is hard to pursue a study altogether uncountenanced and alone. My health, though improved, is far from good, and I suffer considerably from bilious or dyspeptic symptoms. I am truly sorry to hear of Mr. Wirt's illness; even though he should never be high in office, he may exert a happy influence on many who are. Do you not think in looking around the country, that, within a few years, many more of our "great men" have pledged themselves in favour of true Christianity, than at any former period? This is encouraging.

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What parent can fail to weep over the affecting letter detailing the death of a little son?

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Princeton, December 15, 1834.

More to disburden a throbbing and full heart, than to communicate much good, I write to you. I know you will feel a pang, when I tell you that this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, God was pleased to take away my little Archibald—our Benjamin, the son of our hopes. Blessed be God for all his mercies! Last evening he was as well as a child could be to all appearance. About 7 he began to show symp-

toms of croup, which gradually advanced, in spite of the most vigorous practice of our physician, who was with us almost from first to last, until he died in our arms. His last moments were sweet; he simply fell asleep, no pang, no distortion; he lies like a lovely smiling marble. He was two years four months old. Twenty hours' illness! A little before his death he clasped his hands and said:—"I want to say my prayers." Judge what we feel. My dear friend, the tears I poured in torrents over his dying form were tears of joy—blessed be God for it! Never had I such faith of immortality. My wife and I yield with a composure, for which we never can be thankful enough, to the resumption of the precious gift. We have been in the practice of deliberately giving up our children to God, every day. O how I rejoiced in this, as I felt his last pulses, and found his precious hand turning to clay in mine.

We have too much caressed and prized this dear boy. Disappointed in our first, whom we held by a spider's thread, we counted much upon Archibald. He was lovely and precious. In a moment we are blasted! But why do I repeat these things? Join us in giving thanks to God for the wonderful (I will not say resignation, but) comfort we have. Join us in praising Him who can make us glory in tribulation also. Join us in prayer that we may be kept in faith. "Hold thou me up and I shall be safe."

I wish to learn the lesson of this dispensation. I wish to be more entirely consecrated to the work of God. If God write us *childless* (an awful word now—once it seemed a trifle) I will try to find children in the Sunday School. O my friend! I have a dear child in heaven! Only a few hours in heaven! Is not this an honour—a joy—a triumph? let me then determine to lead a heavenly life here. When shall we "use this world as not abusing it"? When shall we who have wives, live as though we had none? A little while and all these shadows will fly away, and we shall find ourselves amidst the realities of eternity. For some time previous to this dispensation, I have found myself under a leading to thoughts more serious than com-

mon; greater desires to cut off superfluous pursuits, to take up unaccustomed crosses, and to cultivate humble love. Alas! how little have I succeeded in doing so.

I cannot well say much on other topics. Remember me and mine at the throne of grace.

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We add the following brief passages from letters written while he was a Professor in the College 1833-44:

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I think I would rather write Baxter's English, than any I know, though I would not wish to write always what he has done. He well describes his own style: "May I speak pertinently, plainly, piercingly, and somewhat properly, I have enough." (Premonition to Saint's Rest.) He was not afraid of *idioms*, the real strength and glory of a language, and especially of ours. The quality of plain, straightforward, market-English is rare in books. It is somewhat dangerous for us cis-atlantics to attempt, for in becoming idiomatic we become provincial, witness *Finney*. But read Bunyan, Fuller, Swift, Cobbet, Hare, ["Sermons to a Country Congregation," 1838,] and you will see what I mean. This was, after all, what was meant by *Attic* Greek as distinguished from the *κοινή διαλεκτός*: and *Attic* *salt* was the very sort of wit which circulated among Athenian hucksters, and which we find in Fuller and Charles Lamb. There was great wisdom in making the speech of the people the standard of good Greek, and great advantage in being so small a State.

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I have many independent sources of evidence showing that evangelical religion is greatly advancing in Virginia under the labours of Episcopalians. Most of their clergy are good and hard-working men. The Alexandria Seminary has been a great blessing to them.

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Do you ever read the Spectator? Read it by extracts, with or to your daughter. It is crystal water after gutter ditto. Some of Steele's are more racy English than Addi-



son's. What pomp of American verbosity could express what follows, about Westminster Abbey: "When I look upon the tombs of the great every emotion of envy dies in me."

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I sometimes find my evenings quite light and hilarious after a very tort day. This morning I attended a funeral, sat at Dod's *examen*, heard a long recitation, and, after a bite, examined 76 fellows in Latin, came home *examiniatus*, drank three cups of strong tea, played half an hour on a flute, and feel better this moment than I did when I got up. What wonderful machines these are! Sometimes the grasshopper is a burden to me.

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The December No. of the *Missionary Herald* is very interesting, especially in that part which concerns the Nestorian mission. But why should these Yankees be so rank to introduce extempore prayer among the poor Nestorians, when they acknowledge that their liturgy is sound enough? I have been reading some more of Luther's, and the Elector of Saxony's letters, &c., about the time of the Diet at Ratisbon, 1540, and the more I read, the more am I filled with unfeigned admiration and love for those heroic men. They are like the strong characters of the Bible—great lights—great shades—but gigantic mind and heart—accomplishing a thousandfold more for Christ in one lifetime than hundreds of us correct, cautious, temperate creatures.

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"Fencing the tables" is carried, in my opinion, to an unscriptural height. I am also persuaded that our church is running into a great error, in disallowing the membership of baptized persons who are not communicants. Our book, and the practice of all the Reformed Churches, (New England excepted,) is plain enough.

O how much more is the presumption in favour of Catholic Christianity than of those who cry with every breath "the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we,"

whether Papists, Oxonians, Baptists, or Separatists ! How much more exercise of Christian tempers with the former than the latter ! I can get along with a Quaker, but not with a bigot.

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I find by reading Zwingle's letters, that he was a polished scholar, as much so as Erasmus or Melancthon, intimately acquainted with all the ancient classics, holding correspondence in Greek, and employing a latinity which is as nervous and elegant as that of Calvin. He had a heroic courage, and remarkable prudence. The edition I am reading gives the letters *to* as well as *from* him, so that I am quite transported to Reformation times. This is what I like. No novel can awaken an interest like these realities. We now have the correspondence of Melancthon, (to and from,) Luther, Calvin, Erasmus, and Zuingle, whose name is spelt a dozen ways.

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I feel less respect for Milner [Church History] than I did, since I have examined the truth of what he says about Zuingle, whom he disparages very unjustly in comparing him with Luther. How much we lose in reading the Bible, by not having that fresh feeling of novelty and interest which they had in the apostolic age, and even at the reformation ; we come to the book already acquainted with its contents, in its most important parts. Perhaps the best way to gain something of this vividness is to read large portions without any human comment, and in as complete forgetfulness as we can attain of our own age. Latterly I have more frequently thought than I used to do, that we make too little of the Holy Spirit's agency with the Scriptures as indispensable, perpetual, immediate. Do we not in fact read the Bible as if our unaided powers would secure us from error ? Few texts have been oftener in my mind than 1 John ii. 26, 27 ; especially in reference to the diversity of opinions which men profess to derive from the Bible. The "Word and the Spirit" conveys the true doctrine.

I have been reading Bickersteth on the prophecies. Independently of his hypothesis, the spirit of the book is delightfully devout, humble, and tender. The question of the Millennium has occupied my attention a good deal for a year or two. I have abandoned my old traditionary views, without having settled on new ones. From the Scriptures alone I have been led to some *negative* results with a good degree of firmness. For example, I cannot dare apply the warnings about Christ's coming, to the hour of death; nor can I say one word about a millennium before Christ's coming. It is now more than a year since I wrote down a number of conclusions on this point, derived chiefly from Rev. xx. studied without note or comment.

I have Stephens [Central America] in hand. My interest in the musty ruins is nothing to what I feel in the country and people. The book is as interesting as a tragedy or an epic. But for simplicity and graphic-ness of description, I have had nothing since Crusoe, equal to Dana's "Two Years before the Mast." I wish our people would read such books in place of novels.

I am seriously convinced that more harm is done by newspaper-reading, than by novel-reading. I know men who spend 2-6 hours daily over newspapers. There is no other production so heterogeneous and incoherent; there is none in which we read so much that is not even interesting. Probably each of us spends a hundred hours of morning-time per annum, on 1, Repeated matter; 2, Accidents; 3, Crimes; 4, Idle narrative; 5, Unintelligible or useless statements; 6, Error and Falsehood; 7, Advertisements and proper names. What better recipe for making a weak mind addle? We take the tone of our company. Suppose a man's bosom-friend to talk an hour a day, exactly like his newspaper. I am told Dr. Wilson used to read only a small weekly sheet; and I have heard that Mr. Wirt, during his most forensic labours, spent three years without reading a newspaper.

My good old father, after spying out for three score years, strongly maintains, that there is less and less appearance of amalgamation among Protestant sects; that is so far as their admitting one another's ordinances goes; *e. g.* the Episcopalians and the Baptists are more exclusive than formerly.

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The confusion of the dramatis personæ in Canticles does not exist in Hebrew, where the *verbs* have gender, and you know at each moment whether it is the sponsus or the sponsor who is addressed. Our lack of gender is felt also in Ecc. xii. 3, "the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened:" the original gives, "the female-grinders keep holiday, &c., and the female-lookers-out-of-windows, &c." I dare say many hearers think the grinders are the "*dentes molares*."

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I have just been reading over, at one sitting, the epistle to the Colossians. I have done so many times within a month, both in Greek and in all the translations I have, which are more than ten. This way of frequent reperusal, continuously, I learned of my father, many years ago. It is well to intermix it with critical study of the same portion. I like to confine myself to one book for a time, and as it were, *live in it*, till I feel very familiar. I usually find great satisfaction during such a period, in preaching from such a book, thus studied.

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As I always welcome any hints about preaching, let me give you one. A good *plan* is invaluable, and may be turned to better account ten years after date, than when first used. I learned of Summerfield to preach extempore, and *then* to write out the skeleton, after trial. Now this is to introduce my hint, which is, that a good plan for a ten-minutes-session-room-harangue, is an equally good plan for a sermon. Therefore, whenever a text or passage has *opened* well before the mind, in an exhortation, write down the skeleton on going home: it will some day hatch a discourse.

New York, December 9, 1844. (Aged 40.)

I think we are at cross-purposes about the "old sort of preachers." I meant such Presbyterian pastors and preachers as were known to our fathers. I would not demand that any of us should adopt those peculiarities which belonged to the age and fashion of the Puritans; their "pun-divinity," as Charles Lamb called it. Nor do I deny that they sometimes introduced inconvenient niceties of distinction. Yet even in respect to these, I believe it may be taken as universally true, that every distinction arises from some new error to be opposed. The Apostles' creed sufficed, till Arianism arose. Sabellius made other distinctions necessary, and so on to the end of the chapter. Some of the distinctions of the Reformed Theology, and even of our Confession, have become obsolete, but new ones have taken their place, and the number does not seem to be lessened. But the technical formulas of these non-conformists and Scotch Presbyterians are not the things I would imitate. One good characteristic, however, of this whole class, I do wish we had in greater measure; they not only held Scripture truth, but the associated it with Scripture *language*. Their writings teem with Bible phrase and Bible figure; a necessary result, in any age, of affectionate devotion to the book. For this I love them; and, in my best moods, in this I feel myself sliding into imitation of them. I do *not*, I own it, think even the Puritan writers, as a body, chargeable with overlaying the truth, or complicating its simplicity. True, they pursue doctrines into minute ramifications; the necessary consequence of their dwelling so profoundly on them. The *general* statement of a doctrine is, I know, true; it is, also, more intelligible, and more fit for a beginner; but the fault of modern divinity is that it too seldom gets beyond these generalities. *Jay* represents such a truth as this, "Christ died to save us," in a thousand ways, and each of them coloured with some Scriptural phrase, figure, or example. Some of us, if we taught the same, would scrupulously avoid every such vehicle, and would translate

the Bible-diction into that of philosophic elegance. The former I think most luminous, most interesting to common minds, and most safe. It is a great merit of this way, that it is prized by our Stuarts, Pollocks, and Woodruffs, [humble parishioners.] It is the way which made them just what they are. If all our youth were bred in this way, all our old folks would relish it, as the Scotch peasantry actually do. The reverse method, though simpler, and less liable to the charge of cant, has never produced as desirable fruit. And we must not take as our model the way which pleases such as are, by the supposition, uninstructed. We must interpose some long words in the child's lesson, or he will never know any but the short ones. And I cannot help thinking it one of the chief faults of the New School or revival era, that its plan of teaching had respect too exclusively to the initiation of new converts. One thing I more and more feel, the excellency of figures and illustrations and examples drawn from the text of the Word. To aim at either simplicity or elegance, by avoiding these, leads either to vagueness or dryness. Hence I never could get along with this rule of Dr. —: "if you have a figurative text, explain the figure, and then dismiss it." It is the secret of the good Doctor's tameness. By this rule, all sermons on *Faith* will be the same sermon.

The following is a single extract from the letters written when he was a Professor in the Theological Seminary. It was written towards the termination of his connection with that institution, and when he was preparing to start on his first visit to Europe.

*Princeton March 28, 1851. (Aged 47.)*

If you hear any thing about Walsh, let me know. I am trying to brush up my French, on which I shall have to rely, upon the Continent. [Rev. John] Lord begins a lecturing here on Monday. [Mr. David] Lord proposes \$1,000 in three prizes, to be raffled for, by essays, pro and con, upon the great apocalyptic question. He makes the



rider of the white horse to be the early preachers; and of the red to be prelacy. He is very severe on Brown's late anti-millenarian book. Bethune's new church [Brooklyn] is to have no windows in the sides. The "Union Committee" of New York is doing a harm to the public conscience, by circulating sermons and addresses, denying all right of private judgment, on matters adjudicated by Cæsar. Dr. L. maintains that in matters properly civil we have nothing for it but to submit passively. Illinois is about making all contracts with negroes void, besides forbidding them the State. Gov. Young told me, last week, that they are migrating in vast numbers to Canada, for fear of the late law. It is a wonder more are not urged to Liberia. I will try to send you "London Poor and London Labour," [by Mayhew.] It is rich. The modern German writers agree that the James of Jerusalem was not the surviving apostle, but a third of the name. Look at the places; you will find it an interesting question. Schaff thinks he was the son of Mary, one of Christ's "brethren," who did not believe: who continued unbelieving till Christ's resurrection; so explaining what is certainly a strange specification, 1 Cor. xv. 7, "after that he was seen of *James*." He gets over Gal. i. 19, by a grammatical turn, analogous to John xvii. 12, "*but* the son of perdition." Nevin seems to incline to the opinion, that God would have been incarnate, independently of the entrance of sin.

The letters written while he was the pastor of the 5th Avenue church are so full of interesting and suggestive remarks that we have found great difficulty in making any choice where all are so good. The following extracts may give the reader a clearer idea of the writer.

When we consider that France was all but atheistic, we must regard even the acquisitions of Popery as conversions to a sort of Christianity. I find it very hard to swallow the tenet, that the existing church of Rome is incapable of being improved, and is to be looked at only as fit for hell-fire. My prophetic apæcs are very dim.

I am getting to think professing religion must less presumptive of grace, than once I did. Nor do I see that any strictness at the door helps the matter. Have we not added to the New Testament notion of communicating in the Lord's Supper? The anabaptist essays at a church of pure regenerate believers have not worked well. I used the word "catechumen" in the vulgar sense; but the *κατηχούμενος* was as such unbaptized—under schooling—long watched—slowly indoctrinated. The Church as a school has declined; hence the Sunday School has been built up alongside.

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I can't help seeing that the apostolic preaching could never have been conformable to prophecies in John xiv.-xvii., unless greatly different from our Lord's. Progress and development mark all the teachings through his and theirs to the end. I look on a system as a mere report of progress in understanding Scripture, at a given point in history. Our preached system differs from the Confession of Faith, both by addition and subtraction.

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As to what is called pulpit eloquence, I grow in disbelief of its importance. The gaping multitudes who fill churches are little reached, as to the main matter. Worship is certainly overshadowed by our sermons. How few quoters of our Directory ever quote p. 497, where the sermon is compared with the "more important duties of prayer and praise."

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Does any one properly estimate the approaching certain influence of the Germans, as a power in our country? I often hear as much German as English in my day's walk. Of all the Protestant portion, nine-tenths are infidel. All I meet with are radical. Most of the German newspapers are infidel, and some blasphemous. A friend of mine heard some talking yesterday; one said, "Our grand error in Germany was not using the guillotine; let them employ it freely, and let them begin with the *Pietisten*." The second Psalm comes to mind as affording the only hope.

Daily do I grow more opposed to pewa. I honour Popery and Puseyism for this point. Free churches are unanimously voted a nuisance by New York Christians; but my mind is unchanged. They have, with us, always been undertaken by poor preachers. If such Chrysostoms as you and I wot of were to open a free church, it would tell another story; and I am persuaded the only way to effect it will be for individual preachers to lead the way. I have not the spirit of a reformer, or I know what I would do. My Tuesday lecture is the only service in which I feel at all apostolical.

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If I could have one sufficient *ex tempore* prayer in each diet, I should be glad to have a prescribed form for those things which we ought *always* to pray for: *e. g.* government, general thanksgiving, &c. I would have the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Te Deum, Gloria in Excelsis, and a few more ancient portions. Our church singing is of the very plainest sort, and the people join pretty generally. This has been the result of (1) a limited list of tunes, and (2) these very easy, with no repeats, and scarcely any slurs or dividing of syllables. But the protest of our young people has been formidable.

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If I were ten years younger, I would have a building erected to hold 2,000, and would preach to free seats; not that I think the existing plan ought to be abandoned, but because I think we ought to have several, yea many plans, yea many sorts of preachers, "unlearned deacons" and all.

I find no girls decently educated except at home, or in the country. I have lately examined several eminent scholars of the highest establishment. Except French and drawing, they have nothing accurately, though pretending to have ever so much German, Latin—ologies, &c.

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*Quere* Suppose every Popish priest now extant were a true spiritual Christian, how far would the existing machine of hierarchy (influence and all) be compatible with true churchship? *Rem.* In such case, might not certain con-

ceivable reforms be expected, such as should place the Catholic body short of damnation ?

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Weary, weary, am I of these [theological] controversies *de lana caprina*. I have a peculiar position; being in favour of strict subscription, but to very short creed.

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After I am dead and gone, I feel sure our cities will have large and elegant free churches. I would not object to sumptuousness, if it went to elevate, solace, and enrich the poor.

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After having written and printed a good deal about sickness, health, &c., I find there are pages of experience to turn over, which are quite new. Especially do I see that we may be brought into stumbling and stripping dispensations, of which during their continuance we cannot comprehend the nature. I never felt more perfectly resigned to God's will, or more disposed to justify all his dealings, be it life or death, or disability. This is my strong permanent feeling. Nevertheless, with this, and perhaps from physical depression, all things seem sad. The chords are unstrung, and the instrument relaxed. Give my love to all yours, and to inquisitive friends.

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And here we must rest from the embarrassing labor of choosing specimens from a mine so rich as this memoir proves to be. It abounds in evidences of lovely piety, genial humor and true liberality of mind. It is full of happy thoughts and suggestions, novel expositions of difficult passages, hints about methods and modes of preaching, plans of sermons, the order of public worship, and large-minded criticisms upon most of the important public events in the church and in the state which have happened within the last forty years. Its subject passes before us the thoughtless boy, the convicted sinner, the hoping Christian, the earnest student, the successful teacher, the youthful preacher, the growing minister and pastor, the

accomplished scholar, the eminent professor, the voluminous writer and author, the observant traveller, the working philanthropist, the celebrated divine, the successful ambassador of Christ, finally sinking under his abundant labors in his Master's service to a premature grave, mourned by all denominations of Christians as a brother beloved. It is a work, therefore, which, while it will prove a fitting monument to the precious Christian character embalmed in its pages, will also grow more and more valuable as years elapse, because it gives a peculiarly life-like picture of the period it covers.

ART. IV.—UNLETTERED LEARNING, OR A PLEA FOR THE STUDY  
OF THINGS.\*

Seven years ago, some of us stood, with tried friends behind, and encouraging smiles before, ready to leave at last the scenes which had promised much pleasure and which had given more. To night we are gathered to offer the same cheering welcome that was then given us, to stretch out the same friendly hands that were then stretched out to us, to a band of younger brothers whose eager feet throng the threshold. And, now, when we are here to greet them at the end of the first long stage of life, and to bid them God speed on that great journey that has no end; and when we ourselves with the clustering memories of forever gone but unforgotten days crowding tumultuously around us, are together met to tell the stories of the years that have fled and to look upon the years to come; on this academic holiday, amid the venerable customs and imposing ceremonies with which the constituted and acknowledged seats of learning, the classic fountains of letters, present their handiwork to the world, it seems meet and fitting, at this time and at this place, to turn our eyes for a short moment away from the old associations of scholastic erudition and lettered lore, to a learning which is higher than letters, which is broader than institutions, and which alone can carry off the honors of life, and win those weighty degrees whose evidence and diploma is success.

More or less, we have all been toiling in its school. Consciously or unconsciously we have conned its lessons and borne off its rewards. Willing or unwilling we have sat at the feet of its great untitled teachers, and are pressing towards graduation in that university, whose

\* An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College, July 25th, 1860.



Commencement day is death and whose alumni record is history.

And the evidence of our scholarship is our change. We are not the same persons who grasped hand and swore an undying fealty of friendship some seven years ago. To-day we renew the vow, render the sacred homage, but it seems like the successors of our former selves, like the filial duty of sons who piously and lovingly fulfil an ancestral covenant. We tell the old tales of college life and they seem like the waking memories of a pleasant dream. We strike the chords that once thrilled every heart and they sound like the unsatisfying echoes of half forgotten music. To-day with firmer step and quicker tread we walk the streets that years ago echoed to our easy footfalls, but the same old houses tell a different story, the same unchanged roofs look down on different men. Times perhaps have not changed but we have. Where are the great men of so few years back? Where are the great aims and lofty thoughts of our cloister visions? Where are the glittering heights that then gleamed from out the shadowy future? All gone like the mist of the morning and vanished in the coming light of day. We are changed with a perfect and entire change. The most honest and earnest resolves, the deepest and best laid plans, albeit, guarded and hedged with an iron will, and the idlest schemes and airiest flights of fancy are gone down together and lie side by side. Where are the heroes—the labors—the duties—where are the air-castles—the dreamland—the loves—where is any thing of seven years ago? Changed and changing. And if any one is not, if any one sees no more and feels no more, and hopes no more, and attempts no more, I envy him not. He is standing still, and as day chases day, and month follows month, the winged years are leaving him behind to the dreariest of all desolation—the bound prisoner of death in a world whose every pulse is throbbing and beating with impatient life.

And what means this ceaseless change that makes us stop and think.

Ah! we are at the alphabet, drinking the earliest draughts of that strange unlettered learning which presumption has never dared to systematize, and which one hardly knows how to approach. We are learning to handle the lever that wields the world, and our minds long the passive receptacle of other men's ideas, now quick with power and tremulous in the consciousness of coming meaning and strength await the birth of thought. *Unlettered learning*—so for want of a better title must we style that which has lost its own name, and wed the substance to the shadow because the reality can be intelligibly defined now only by contrast with its semblance.

There is a proclivity in these days of reckless hurrying and thoughtless speed to confound learning with its dress. There are very few any more who can part the pure idea of learning from its mere mechanical evidence—books and letters; and perhaps none who can do so without difficulty. There are many who can see no difference between the two things nor even understand its possibility. And there is danger that even educated men and the theories on which are built and conducted our educational systems and institutions are fostering the same error. The machine *cursum*, the mathematical gradation which makes college honors and standing only one long sum in addition, stretching through the inevitable procrustean four years, that accurate notation which gives the prize to patient plodding mediocrity wearily conning meaningless letters on dumb pages from opening term to graduation day, and has nothing to say of that mind which opening the hidden scrolls of being shrinks at its own littleness while it trembles in the throes of parturition; all these things, needful as they may be, still throw false lights over the channel of learning and call loud on the friends of colleges and the children of colleges to take up the note of warning.

The art of printing, endlessly multiplying the evidences of knowledge and becoming almost the only means of instruction was perhaps the cradle of this error. The books and copies by which knowledge was given usurp-

ed the place of knowledge itself. The servant and tool leaped into the seat of its master. To-day the fact needs little proving that half the world reverences letters as the divine spirit they represent, and bows before these lifeless idols with more than pagan blindness, and without that impulse of instinct which relieves the humiliation of heathen ignorance. Language—the unfailing touch-stone of a people's feeling, the unquestioned chronicle of a nation's thinking, reveals this too plainly. Illiterate, without letters, means simply unlearned. Two words are synonyms whose roots at first struck out in contrary directions.

But it is of small moment how this great mistake has happened. When the foe is in the fortress it matters little how he got there ; the day is gone and the glory is fading. It is enough for us to know that it has, and that every day it is gaining ground. It is enough to know that law makers recognize it in their laws and that the people live it in their lives. It is enough to know that the current idea of education is a mechanical one ; that one year's going to college or school, or privately poring over text-books is commonly supposed to make a man so far learned and that two years schooling or reading will make one just twice as learned. It is enough to know that letters are smothering thought and that memory is becoming the monarch of the mind.

Great all around us, is the vitiating, weakening, prostrating power of the surfeit of literature which gives ideas to everybody without the pains of begetting them and pours forth in plenty thoughts for the unthinking. Many and many a mind sinks in the enervating flood and never knows its own death struggles.

And when we see that ink is taking the place of brains ; that he is the greatest author who has stocked the largest book-store, and he the greatest student who has set his chariot wheels on fire whirling over a papery curriculum ; that even churches gauge their missionary spirit by their bales of exported bibles, it is time to ask if their may be

nothing wrong. Perhaps this great self-confident, intellectual age is off the track. Perhaps we have literally left the spirit for the letter. It was not always so. Great men lived before who suffered and labored and accomplished much, but who never wrote a line nor it may be read one. And we may remember how that grand old Greek, whose philosophy almost measured itself with inspiration, and for centuries after his death moulded Christian thought, never put one word on the tablets. Or we may call to mind how all that we have and prize of political and social preëminence, we owe to men who could neither read nor write, the sturdy old barons of England who made themselves and freedom and Runnymede historic.

These are they who had learning without letters and their lives are the lesson for the day.

This is the shoreless sea of knowledge, the vast main whose depths have never answered to the plummet and whose waves roll out to the confines of eternity. Breasting the surges of such an ocean, the eye well may weary over the widening waste and the heart sink at the roar of the waters. Only to wander wistfully along its sounding shore, to catch for a moment the meaning music of its echoes, to mark how here and there its arms and inlets encroach and enter into our being is our aim this evening. The first step that opens the mind to conceive and that clears the eye to see the dim outlines of the wondrous ocean is to separate the stories of those who have guided their barks over smiling waters or suffered shipwreck on its richly stranded shores from the sea itself, to know that the stories which tell of deeds of daring, of treasure and of wonder, are neither the exploits, the riches nor the marvel. To *feel* that books are a secondary and an indirect means of knowledge, and are only of account when primary and direct sources fail and are exhausted is the first lesson in this great learning, which now that recitations are over and the marking roll is closed forever must carry us through a life that is to be measured by what is done,—must control success if there will be success and create power if there will be power.

It is not our purpose to describe the boundaries. Much it is to be regretted that no chart is yet drawn, however faulty or imperfect for the unnumbered mariners. More perhaps is it a matter of regret that the attempt has never been made, and still more that its want does not seem to be felt. It must needs be exceedingly difficult to convey any intelligible idea or sketch of this knowledge which although the keystone of being has never yet felt the hand of science, and is possessed at best only in vague and unsystematized generalizations picked up at random. Strange as it may sound, the business and art of life rests on a few empirical facts gleaned here and there and adopted as principles because tested by time. Paradox though it be, all that fits man for taking care of himself—of those around him—to make his own way—to defend his own rights—to enjoy his own acquisitions—in a word to be practically successful comes from without and in spite of the constituted authorities of learning. Education for life commences just where the schools leave off, and its cursus is just what the schools leave out. The animal art of self-preservation, that secondary and indirect art of self-preservation—the way to get a livelihood,—the duties of a parent, of a citizen, of a ruler (and all men are rulers) must be acquired somewhere else and in some other way than by what we term education.

A passing glance at the scope of life, and that which constitutes living as a physical and social fact, will show how completely every thing that teaches how to live and provides men for their eventful journey through the world is learned outside of study hours, in the nooks and the corners, by accident, chance or a seemingly wayward caprice.

During the defenceless days of childhood, God in his mercy has protected us from ourselves. A beneficent instinct warns us of danger and keeps us safe without trouble of our own. Self preservation is a gift, full and free at once, otherwise it is likely that we would never get the knowledge of it in time for use. Reasoning from analogy

and custom it is most probable that if a child did not find out without our help, that fire will burn and water give way under his feet, it would never be taught so by the most direct and sensible method—just showing that it does. By established usage, we should start at the other end, and explain the nature of caloric and the laws of hydrodynamics, use the dead and printed primer and throw away the living letters of nature.

Safe through those tender years when all the world is bounded by self, and self means only the body, man emerges into society. Fellowship is his fate henceforth and forever. Escape from social ties and bonds, there is none. There is no real anchorite on earth and never was. Even the monks, boastful *monachi*, must have a monastery—a herding place. Man steps on to the stage of life to the chorus of the nursery, plays his part through its lengthy scenes, yoked, and when at last he goes to sleep with his fathers, it is with the unnumbered army of the dead that he marches to the kingdoms under ground. And the management of this society in its widest, broadest, fullest sense, the control and regulation of ones' self and his relations to every person and circumstance around him, the great *οικονομία* of the world is the body of unlettered learning. Every man and woman is a king or queen, rules a realm somewhere, and the government of this kingdom which centres in himself and circles out and out, till its limits are lost in the domain of other uncrowned monarchs is the art and business of life, and the way in which it is done makes failure or success in life. The histories of these governments are the biographies of men. Now the knowledge that teaches how to build up this sovereignty, to keep it strong within and without and add conquest to conquest till the broad lands stretch from mountain to mountain, and from sea to sea, and from generation to generation till countries and races and time are swallowed up, is all unwritten. Watching, thinking, by the way side and the hedges, little by little, grain by grain must it be gotten, by mistakes repaired, by sorrows suffered, by experiments and



experience, and all the time the government goes on and from hour to hour and day to day the royalty is risked.

And the teachers here! No swollen catalogue parades the overflowing ranks of the faculty. No ambitious degrees tell of the masters and doctors of unlettered learning. There are those whom suffering has made strong and whose eyes see clear through tears. There are those to whom defeat after defeat has given the mastery. There are those who from the anatomy of their own breasts study the hygiene of humanity, and

"rise on stepping stones  
Of their dead selves to higher things."

And there are trifles too, light as air, by which the heedless pass, at which the empty-headed sneer and which the learned and the learning study. The follies are full of the wisdom of the world. The jests of men are of more meaning than their solemn judgments and stately opinions. Carelessness has more philosophy in it than carefulness and calls for profounder study. Even fools too (and they are of great use besides on this earth) teach. No corner too out of the way, no straws too light for the gleaners in this strange harvest where the field is the world. Out of wood, hay and stubble is to be reared the magnificent building of mind that can stand when the rains fall and the storms break.

Like all other things, the features and fulness of this desired learning come out clearer and bolder from a look at the other side. It may be hard to tell with accuracy what it is and who have it: it is more easy to see what it is not and who have it not. Its want is often called in common parlance the lack of judgment, tact or common sense, because a strong common sense, a delicate tact and a healthy judgment are for the most part the consequence of its culture and possession. The neglect of its culture makes the wrecks that strew the unending shores, or more pitiful yet the empty voyages of life. Yet, the unlettered lessons are by the greater number learned too late. We are wont to study first and only come to think afterwards.

Were a little unlettered study first given to the constitution of the body,—for after all a successful life is summed up in the proper economy of body, mind and time,—were only a little attention granted to the fleshly casket so delicately, so wonderfully made we should be spared that painfully common sight, on field and farm, on highway and by-way of men, women and children in the morning of life worn and wasted, and when the dew is scarce off and the air panting with freshness, wearily waiting for the coming and the rest of the evening. Were the economy of mind a little thought of, men would not spend toilsome lives, adding pebble to pebble, playing Boswell to the bugs and the flies, counting the hairs of the head, and numbering the sands of the sea shore, and then call science, their labors which all counted and told only serve to fill a curiosity shop or an index. Were the economy of time, the *ars longa vita brevis* principle once mastered, minds would no more grow dizzy and intelligence totter madly searching where discovery only brings confusion, after secrets in providence and pity hidden, and which a little time and death will give to every fool for nothing.

But the best example and highest manifestation of the learning that laughs at letters, is when it is not only unwritten but unvoiced, when it has dropped neither from the pen nor tongue. There are things that must be learned, but not through the ear. There is much knowledge that must be had to act a part beyond the routine role, that has never taken form to make it transferable from mouth to mouth. Unembodied subtile knowledge, that takes shape and meaning and is a creature only for its creator. No common coin that passes from hand to hand. There is deep wisdom that men must have and have had, but that always has been and will be unspoken and in aid of which language is at best only suggestive. This knowledge which yet lacks utterance, that sports no royally endowed universities nor funded professorships is the science of human nature, the practical study of ourselves, the flowering of the cabalistic *γνῶσις αὐτοῦ*. We know not

ourselves. A careless word and the floodgates of feeling are open. A dying sound—a look—a falling shadow, and the heart is torn with a mad tempest. Still we see not the connection between these trifles of chance and the turbulence and violence that follow in their train. The storm is over, the trackless wind has passed, and no one knows whence it came nor whither it goeth. The springs that set in motion head and heart are hidden and small. The control of these—the power to work them, to combine them—to balance one with another—to merge many into one—to manage them so that all whatever the kind or degree shall blend in harmony toward the given end, is the knowledge by which the world is governed or what is the same thing by which each man rules his own kingdom. The levers are the little things and the common things of the world, and they must be studied. The music of life is written on the common keys. Thence flow the deep melodies, and therein is the seat of power. The great passions are the same always and every where. One man lashed by the furies is driven much as another. A slave's breast may beat as wildly and the fires burn there as hotly, as in the Moor of Venice or the Royal Dane. Every hamlet has its altars where the incense rolls as high and the worship is as complete as if the worshippers were the star-crossed lovers of Verona. But these are the exceptional and trite powers. A tyro can see and use them. Something deeper and more artistic is wanted for the musician who would sweep with a master's hand the chords of being. The music to which the heart beats time from day to day is something stronger and more silent. As the tinted pencilling and soft shading makes the picture; as the curving of the hand, the swelling of a muscle guides the trained and mettled horses, so men are moved for all practical purposes in the same way. Emotions of every day life are not raised by theatrical thunder. We walk in slippers and not on the buskin. It is not the plumed and bannered forces of imperious passion that can win the battles of every day, nor storm the citadels that must be carried every hour.

Here come into play the plain and homely feelings. By their aid, these quiet, placid, unassuming agencies the world moves. The effects of every day are to be brought about by the causes, and with the material of every day. An earnest laborious and thorough study, not of mankind abstractly, as they figure in speculative philosophies, or treatises of unfathomed profundity, but of our neighbors, as they work and rest and study, as they rise and fall—this and this only will give the commend which makes every thing, every person, every circumstance as potters clay in the hands of a cunning workman. That is a vulgar error which looks for great results only from the grand and heroic, measuring the power of a lever by its size. It is not by the whirlwind and the storm that we are bent,—but a word fitly spoken, a spring pressed here and there, an interest suggested, a sympathy awakened, an old affection touched, and one by one, the many little and contradictory emotions swaying and surging find vent in one convulsive sob, or one generous outburst of feeling.

Now to manage and control these “pregnant and potential spurs” of thought and action, we must learn from voiceless teachers. 'Tis the lesson which lies all around—proclaimed in very look and word and act, published in a thousand types and images, but to be seen and read alone by those who have “eyes to see.”

How to attain this strange reading is not part of a task that aims only to point faintly out and suggest the richness of the hidden stores thereby unlocked. But perhaps a humble effort to discern some method may throw a dim light over some of the boundaries of this boundless ocean whose horizon ever flies before us. All around us, strange yet common scenes transpire. Men are moved over and over again in a strange yet very common way. Unknown forces in play, full of meaning strong in power, are ever working to the surface in symbolic representations, darkly hinting the great laws of inward action. Their rich significance we cannot understand, yet understood they must be, if that power will be gained. All our energies must bend towards

and concentrate on these fruitful scenes and objects, whether animate or inanimate, till they breathe with the breath of life, and yield up their living soul. The first step in this exciting exploration of nature is observation, to learn to see under our feet and in the waste places these magic mirrors of humanity. The next, reflection, earnest and thoughtful, and if faithful study brings nothing, then to imitate hopefully—to put ourselves *en rapport* with the universe, to beat with its heart, till reproduction follows, till the secret is wrenched from its prison and that power is a slave chained and ready for service.

These symbolic shadows fall athwart our path at every turn. One sees perhaps a hundred times, carelessly and unthinking, the light hearted waltzers floating in graceful and airy circles to the grandly solemn chords of the German masters—chords throbbing with the very majesty of sorrow. Some day this strange union strikes us as a singular fact, again as an incongruous fact. A little farther and the mirror clears, and we see here only an epitome of living, and know that with just that joyous step and measured tread, we too, dance down through circling years to the more sadly solemn music of life. No chance now. There is a reason for it—there is a meaning in this dissonant marriage, and a meaning that lies at the bottom of half the feeling in the world. This is why “our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts.” This is the reading of the riddle of Shakspeare’s fool,

“How some for joy did weep,  
And some for sorrow sung.”

This is the secret of the consinship of smiles and tears, and who has mastered this secret, who has gotten the reason of this thing, has pushed his empire into the very hearts of his fellows and holds a sceptre that sways every human breast. It is a boon and a blessing, this gift, to read the dumb oracles of nature and feel the still life of creation. No tie, however dear, no bond, however holy, can supply it. Parent and child, after years of care and counsel and answering love and honor, may part strangers. Husband

and wife, after wedded hearts and joined hands, after the shared joys and divided sorrows of a life-long pilgrimage, may sleep side by side, all unacquainted yet. But it is a boon that is vouchsafed only to study,—the study that consumes a brain and the toil that wears away a life time, this power to spur and rein the uncarbed torrents of feeling, to explore the hidden sorrows and know the secret paths of human nature. He was a wise man, though he spoke with Hibernian wisdom, who said that there is a great deal of human nature in every body. It is there and the matter is to reach it. Who has done that sits throned secure. Who has done that has for his slaves other men's masters, as he loosens with a word the pent up storms of passion, as he strikes at will the fountains of unwept tears and wakes the sleeping echoes of the heart. Here is the field and this is the art of the orator—and I call him the orator, who, be it at the bar, on the street, or in the parlor, carries his point.

Thus have we lingered for an hour by the shore of this storied ocean, whose ebb and flow beats with the pulse of humanity. If any thing is vague and unreal that has been said, it is because of the dim vision and weak powers of him that speaks and not of the subject. There is this occult lore whose well read scholar stands "shielded and helm'd and weaponed." There is this real and solid learning, measured with which the luxuriant fulness of spoken tongues and the pride and state of written language are an unsubstantial pageantry.

And if any thing has been said that may sound slighting or derogatory to the claims of a thorough scholastic training, it was not to that end. That is a power balanced by nothing else the wide world over, and a blessing that sheds its healthful light over every act and hour of life. But there is a danger in it: The fact that College men are daily distanced on the course, by those who suffered in the start, who carry weight and who never felt the rubbing and polish of the trainers hand, and that College pets of all are most likely to balk, tells the story. There is danger lest



these great institutions in their staid gravity and unmoving dignity become the representatives of the self-satisfied and hollow learning of letters. There is danger that they entrench and wall themselves in; in books and parchment, and in the haughtiness of age and the confidence of superiority, turn from fountains into the stagnant reservoirs of knowledge. There is danger lest they come to teach only an education for talking and not for acting.

There is no motive power in books. It is the logic of action that leads to thinking and the logic of thought that leads to achievement. Let any one honestly search his own history, and he will confess that the education to which he owes his present position and standing was gotten in other schools than those his father sent him to, and that the items of success were never paid for in his regular tuition bills.

And general history makes this same great confession for the world. There are tales of classic shades where poets sang and sages taught whose golden memories are yet the scholars dearest dream, but the history of Greece and Rome was made by other hands and their destinies wrought out by other powers. The proudest monuments of Gothic glory were the royal homes of letters where they reigned, sheltered and protected by religion—and a religion that held the reins of the world. But there was a moving of the people—the despised but living people—there was a graduation of the middle ages and the storm came and battlemented towers went down. And so we. Lusty colleges were cradled in our earliest colonies. Even now the woodman's axe and hunter's rifle are ringing around pioneer Universities far off to the setting sun, but to-day of the men whom the people honor, one's diploma shows only the log cabin free school on the rolling prairie—that college of the West—and another—"the little still at the head of the hollow."

Where would we be this hour with but the learning of the schools? Society might yet mean serfdom. Feudal turrets might yet be frowning over fields clumsily tilled

by feudal slaves. "Might makes right" might still be the bond between the governing and the governed, and the rule by which justice is done between man and man. Our homes might be the homes, and our rights the rights of a thousand years ago. History might have sealed her scrolls unsoiled. There is no motion in books.

Nor is there aught disparaging to the dignity of intellect in leaving venerable tomes and scholarly manuscripts for something which is better than these. Books are the aids, not the ends of study—the evidence of knowledge, not the things known. To forget this is the real downfall. God put men in the world and they shut themselves up in a library, but the traces of the finger of Providence, the records of the workings of power on earth are all entrusted to the great unwritten archives. The common law—the foundation stone of society, establishing and controlling the fundamental relations of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant—the constitution of England, which to-day determines the political fate of more millions than any one thing else—the customs, the usages, manners and habits of mankind, these real monarchs—the ballad power of dead and buried nations—the legendary life of every people, past and present—tradition, the belief and rest of the world, all grew up unwritten and free from the trammels and cramping of a lettered bondage.

Every thing great and deep comes to us unwritten, because beyond the power of letters, and the large and catholic study of these things as they lie hidden all around us will go far to do away with much that is narrowing and little—to give us broader hearts and a more hopeful faith, and leave us stronger and better men.

W. N.

Lancaster, Pa., July, 1860.

## ART. V.—THE LITERATURE OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

We have several objects in view in presenting the matter contained in this article. We will show by it how rich is the literature of the Heidelberg Catechism, as it has been produced in various lands and languages; thus furnishing the very best evidence of the high honor in which this symbol has been held both by learned Theologians who have thus labored in its elucidation, and by the pious laity whose wants and desires created and sustained this extraordinary demand.

We hope also that any one who desires to cultivate a more than ordinary acquaintance with this venerable catechism may find himself aided in his investigations by this survey of its literature. The titles of the different works will generally indicate to him the particular feature of the catechism to which the work is devoted, which in many cases may prove convenient and valuable information. It may, moreover—and this we would fain hope—suggest to some one possessing at once the antiquarian taste and the means to indulge it, to make a complete collection of old and rare works on the catechism. Such a work accomplished for the Library of the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, or a gift or legacy devoted to that object, would be a lasting honor to its author, and an invaluable benefit to the Reformed Church in this country, and to the cause of theological inquiry in general.

As Ursinus is the principal author of the catechism it is proper to refer first to the work published under his name. This work on the catechism is so different in its entire theological character and spirit from the catechism itself that many have been at a loss to know how both could have proceeded from the same hand. This difference is easily explained when we take into view his relation to the commentary attributed to him. This is clearly and fully

brought out by Van Alpen. "As soon as the catechism had been published, Ursinus began to deliver Lectures on it in the Sapienz College in Heidelberg, and to explain the whole of it once a year. This work he carried forward till into the year 1577—a period of fourteen years. His zealous pupils, anxious to learn, with eager pen took down a great portion of these Lectures, and published what they had thus preserved under the name of Ursinus. The work appeared first at Neustadt 1584, a year after his death, and later in Geneva and Leyden. From the manifold variations in these editions it was soon seen how little part Ursinus had in the doctrines and expressions therein contained; whereupon Pareus, who had also heard the Lectures of Ursinus at Heidelberg, was solicited carefully to examine these works, work them over, and form them into one which should approximate more closely to Ursinus' mode of thought. Pareus undertook this work, and gave the catechetical expositions of Ursinus another form, in which form they were first published at Heidelberg in the year 1591, in four parts, each furnished with a separate Preface by Pareus. They were also published again in the same city in the years 1598 and 1609; and afterwards often in different years, and were also included in the works of Ursinus. Martin Lipenius and Hieronymus Van Alpen give reliable notices of other editions of Ursinus' catechetical work, as well as those published before and after the improvements made by Pareus, under various titles. The title of the genuine edition published by Pareus has the following title: "*Zacharias Ursinus' Body of Christian Doctrine of the Church Reformed from the Papacy; containing the Catechetical Expositions which in various editions had been variously disfigured, but which are now anew and finally revised from beginning to end; in such a manner that it may be regarded as a new work. By David Pareus. With a double index. Catechetical Miscellanies from the first Edition, newly revised and arranged, are added. Bremen 1623.*" The edition is in Latin.

This work has been much praised. In Holland, where it was translated into Dutch by Festus Hominus and published in Leyden 1617, it was more used and prized than any other. Very many editions of it have been published in different lands and languages. "Countless teachers in the Church," says Van Alpen, "have been instructed by it." It was translated into English by Henry Parry, and published in England at a very early day.\* The English translation, by Rev. George W. Williard, appeared in this country in 1851, with an Introduction by Dr. Nevin.†

From the history we have given of this work the reader may judge how far it may be properly regarded as the work of Ursinus. He was rather the occasion than the author of it. A work produced in this way from fragments gathered by various hands from the lips of another, and afterwards passing through so many transformations, must necessarily have taken the complexion of the minds of those who reproduced it; and these again must have conformed to the mind of Pareus himself. There seems to have been no manuscripts left by Ursinus with which these varying gathered notes could be compared; and as the first edition was not published till a year after Ursinus' death it could in no way have had his revision or sanction. The improved edition of Pareus was not published till seven years after the death of Ursinus, and that called the genuine and finally revised, not till forty years after his death. Pareus, therefore, could have had no advantage over his predecessors in securing correctness except what his own notes—though it is not mentioned that he had taken any himself—and his recollection of his teacher's Lectures would furnish. Certain it is that this work can-

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\* We have an English copy in our possession; the title page, and consequently the date and place of publication, is lost, but the style, orthography, and letter press, show that it belongs to a very early date. It may be the same as the one referred to by Rev. Mr. Williard in his Preface, which was published in 1645.

† The commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism Translated from the original Latin. By the Rev. G. W. Williard, A. M. First American Edition. Columbus, Ohio: Scott & Bascom, Printers. 1851.

not be quoted as authority under the name of Ursinus. The state of the case seems to be correctly given by Van Alpen, when he says: "Ancillan is correct when in his miscellaneous critical writings he says: David Pareus has made an excellent commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism through Ursinus."

After the publication in 1584 of the notes of Ursinus' Lectures, many learned men published explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism. Nearly every year, says Van Alpen, some larger or smaller work was issued. Indeed few books have been honored with a larger number of commentaries. We shall here give the titles of these works, as we collect them from Van Alpen, Kocher, and other writers, and give such other information concerning them as we have been able to gather from various sources.

#### GERMANY.

*Quirinus Reuter* published: An explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism in Latin, with criticisms of several Theologians. Heidelberg, 1585.

*Tobias Fabricus* wrote: An Exposition of the Palatinate Catechism. Neustadt, 1586. 1596.

*Tobias Fabricus*: Encyclopedia of the Heidelberg Catechism. Neustadt, 1586. Published also at Herborn in 1596.

*Balthasar Copius*: LIV Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. Published at Neustadt, 1588. This work Van Alpen mentions as every where favorably known. The same year in which it was published, it appeared in a Dutch translation.

*Melchior Anger*: A short and simple account: 1. Of the great misery of the whole human race; 2. How they may be delivered from such a state of misery and saved; 3. Of the office of Christians, how they are to conduct themselves in their lives toward God and their neighbors, and be grateful to God through Christ for such deliverance; together with a full explanation of these points. All of which is treated in Questions and Answers, and compared



with proofs from the word of God. Heidelberg, 1593.— This is regarded by many as a precious treasure.

*George Spindler*: Fifty-two Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism; in which the principal points of Christian doctrine, and the substance of the entire holy Scriptures, are correctly and briefly comprehended. Together with a form for examination, etc. Amberg, 1597 to 1607.

*Mathias Martin's* full popular Theology. Bremen, 1612, 1617. Also by the same: Aphoristic Paraphrase of all principal points of the Christian Religion. Bremen, 1612. Both these works are in Latin.

*John Philip Pareus'* Catechism of the Christian Religion, as the same is taught in the Churches and Schools of the Palatinate and other Reformed countries, with a short logical analysis and Theological exegesis. Neustadt, 1615. Frankfort, 1615. Hanau, 1624.

*John Piscator's* explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism, published by his son, Philip Ludwig, Herborn, 1522. Martin Lipenius mentions an older Catechetical work by the same author: Explanation of the Catechetical subjects of the Christian religion. Herborn, 1603.

*Sibbrand Lubbert's* Commentary on the Palatinate-Belgian Catechism. Frankfort, 1618.

*Frederick Wendelin's* Heidelberg Catechism. Bremen, 1623. Written in Latin.

*Joachim Wedeland's* (or as some write *Wendlard*) Heidelberg Catechism clearly explained for the edification of the people and the instruction of the youth. Bremen, 1623. In Latin.

To this period belong several defences of the Catechism, called forth by an attack upon it by a Jesuit of Cologne, Johan Andreas Coppenstein. His book was published at Cologne in Latin, 1621, and having been translated into German, it appeared at Heidelberg, 1624. It bears the following ridiculous title: "The Uncalvinized Heidelberg Catechism, discalvinized and converted into the Roman Catholic faith, so that the Catholic is to be found in the Text, and the Calvinistic in the Margin." In the text the

questions are all furnished with Roman Catholic answers. Hottinger has well remarked that the best which the Jesuit accomplished was thus to place the true Catechism into the hands of Roman Catholics by whom otherwise it would hardly have been seen or read. Yet his work was thought worthy of formal answer. Five learned men among the Reformed wrote replies to the book of Coppenstein. The first was Jacobus Laurentius, whose book bears the title: *The orthodox Heidelberg Catechism, against the censor, or as he calls it, the discalvinization of it by the Pastor in Heidelberg, Johann Andreas Coppenstein. Addressed to the King of Bohemia, Frederick IV. Amsterdam, 1625.* Johannes Blassius, Henrich Isselburgius, and Johan Morenbachianus—which is perhaps an assumed name under which is hidden Johann Jacob Herrmann, pastor in Herborn—also wrote replies to Coppenstein.

*Albert Hanfeld's Sermons on the Palatinate Catechism. Frankfort, 1634.*

*Felix Wys' Analysis of the Catechism. Hanau, 1653.*

*Bernhard Erasmus Averman's Short instruction in Christian Doctrine according to the Heidelberg Catechism. Hamburg, 1675.*

*Gerhard Meyer's Heidelberg Catechism; with the omission of all which exceeds the capacity of the ignorant, in a brief and plain manner analyzed and explained, and confirmed by proofs from the holy Scriptures. Heidelberg, 1676. Bremen, 1698. In Latin.*

*George Jacob Pauli: The Heidelberg Catechism, with short explanations, and many proofs from the holy Scriptures. Halle, 1781.* This, Van Alpen regards a still better work than the one from Herman Reinhold Pauli, elsewhere mentioned. "In the preface," says Van Alpen, "Mr. Pauli expresses the most correct and sound views of Catechisms in general, and presents an impartial judgment on the Heidelberg Catechism." This Pauli was court-preacher in Halle. We have in our possession the third edition of this work published with an additional

preface by John Charles Pischon, his colleague, after Mr. Pauli's death. Halle, 1796.

*Henry Bernhard Meier's* Milk and Strong Meat for all lovers of the truth; as well for the simple as for such as are already advanced in Christianity, as prepared and faithfully presented by him in his catechetical lectures, and after his too early death, according to the earnest desire of many, edited and published by *Blasius Reuter*. Bremen, 1684.

*Heinrich Simon Van Alpen*: Public Catechizations, together with sermon sketches on the Heidelberg Catechism adapted to the wants of our times. Two volumes. Frankfort on the Main, 1796, 1797. This Van Alpen was Pastor at Kaldenkirchen and Bracht in Jülich in the Rhine country. This is in many respects an able work. Written in a popular, fresh and vigorous style, it bears the impress of a strong original mind, and abounding in brilliant thoughts, it is the more to be regretted that it is so deeply imbued with rationalism. In the preface of twenty-eight pages the false stand-point of the author is clearly defined, so that the reader at once sees into what hands he has fallen. The edition of which we have given the title, is in our possession, and seems to be the first issued.

A treatise on the easiest and most necessary questions in the Christian religion according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism; and especially on the five principal parts therein contained. Brought together in chapters from various beautiful and instructive writings of divines of the present day, diligently prepared for the benefit of Christian youth. By J. A. P. P. Z. D. That is, as we learn from the end of the preface, John Adolph Pavenstett, Pastor in Duisburg. Duisburg on the Rhine, 1698.

*Heronis Sibersma*: Sources of salvation according to the Heidelberg Catechism. This work was published first in Leuwarden, 1694 and 1696. A German translation was printed in Frankfort, 1699. This work is praised by Van Alpen.

*Bernhard Meyer's* brief but particular explanation of the

Christian Reformed Catechism, with an appendix concerning the wonderful ways of God in the government of his Church: for the instruction of the catechumens. Elberfeld, 1733.

*Herman Reinhold Pauli's* Heidelberg Catechism, or short instruction in Christian doctrine, as the same is taught in the Evangelical Reformed Churches and Schools of the Palatinate, confirmed by proofs from the holy Scripture, with explanations adapted to the practice of an active Christianity. Halle, 1740. This Van Alpen calls one of the best explanations of the Catechism. From the name we should judge this Pauli to have been an ancestor of Rev. Philip Reinhold Pauli, who emigrated to this country in 1783, and was for a long time Pastor in Reading, Pa.

*Ludwig George Miegs:* Devout Explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism in Fifty-seven sermons. 1746. This work, says Van Alpen, is much used as a devotional book in many Reformed churches and families.

The following work appeared without the name of the author.

Instruction in the Truth unto godliness according to the Evangelical Reformed Church; or brief catechetical instruction in the Heidelberg Catechism for the use of all inquiring souls, especially for the instruction of the beloved youth, explained in the language of the Catechism, and confirmed by proofs from the holy Scriptures, together with the foundation of faith for those newly confirmed. With the approbation of the Universities of Herborn and Heidelberg. Heidelberg and Herborn, 1748.

*John Philip Widder's* edifying Meditations on divine truths and articles of faith contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, drawn from reason and Scripture for the cultivation of a pious life. Frankfort, 1753. This is said to be a work very highly prized by pious persons in the Reformed Church.

*Reinhold Schödde's* Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, with an account of his life. Danzig and Leipzig, 1754.

These sermons were published after his death. We have this work in our possession. It is eminently practical, and well adapted as a devotional book.

*George Gottfried Otterbein*: Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. Two volumes. Lemgo, 1803. This author was Pastor in Duisburg on the Rhine, and an elder brother of the Rev. William Otterbein, who came to this country in 1752 and died in 1813. He sold a large number of copies of his brother's work in this country, many of which are still to be found in the libraries of our older ministers, and in Reformed families. Van Alpen mentions this work with favor. We have examined it with care, and find it sound, spiritual, and eminently practical.

*Conrad Bröschen*: The Heidelberg Catechism, as the same was directed to be used by Frederick III. of blessed memory, A. D. 1563, in the churches and schools of the Palatinate; with an analysis by which the otherwise strong meat is reduced to milk for the weak. Published at Mannheim. The book has no date, but bears the marks of age. The author was Court preacher and consistorial-rath in Offenbach. This work we have in possession, and find it excellent.

*Mathias Krall*: Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. A devotional book. Elberfeld, 1833. Krall was pastor at Gemarke. His sermons are plain, practical, full of sound religious truth, and animated with living devotion. This book is in our possession.

*Karl Sudhoff*: Sure ground of Christian Doctrine. A help for the proper understanding of the Heidelberg Catechism. Compiled from the German writings of Dr. Casper Olevianus, with original essays on points of the Catechism. Frankfort on the Main, 1854. This is an important contribution to the literature of the Catechism, and ought to be in the hands of every minister of the Reformed Church.

*J. P. Kindler*: The Heidelberg Catechism methodically analyzed and illustrated. Third edition. Erlangen, 1846. Kindler is Pastor at Nuremberg. He has furnished merely an analysis, but it is most excellent—among the best that has yet fallen into our hands.

Besides these works, written originally in German, there appeared also various works on the Catechism in that country, during this period, translated from other languages, especially the most important works which had been issued in Holland, and in the Dutch language. Among them are the following :

*Gellius de Bouma*—or as Martin Lipenius and Frederick Adolph Lampe call him—*Gellius de Bauma* ; Catechism or short instruction in Christian doctrine, as the same is conducted in the churches and schools of the Palatinate ; as also the United Netherlands. Together with a short form showing how the youth can be easily practiced in the questions of the Catechism ; for the benefit of the ignorant, there are also several series of highly important questions appended. First written in Dutch, but now translated into German by John Valentine Reuser. Hanau, 1664.

*Tileman Heuster's* large Heidelberg Catechism, with confirmations from the old teachers of the Church. Translated into German by George Tomasen. Frankfort, 1671.

*Peter de Witte's* Catechetical Treasure ; that is, a Scriptural and extended catechetical explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism of the Christian Reformed Religion. Hanau, 1669. De Witte was minister at Leyden. This is an excellent work. It passed through sixteen editions in a few years in Dutch. It was translated into German by John Thomas and Willingensem Nassovicus. We are in possession of a copy of the second original German edition, "in many points enlarged and improved." Published in Basel, 1680. It contains a very valuable Introduction of over forty pages ; and the body of the work covers 1246 pages, besides an appended index of 25 pages.

The address of the author to "the Courteous, Peaceable, Flourishing Reformed Church of Jesus Christ, in Delft," opens thus quaintly: "This Scriptural present is lined with holy Materials. Worldly tongues seeke for the dainties and Curiosities of delicate Puft-Pastes and En-ambred Sauces ; but here is food for other palates than the world knoweth of. The Doze is indeed marked with A. B. C.,



but the right doze of it rightly taken down, will make not an *Abecedarian*, but a perfect man."

This work has also been translated into English. A correspondent of the *Christian Intelligencer* mentions an English copy as being in the library of Rev. Anson Du Bois, in Kingston, but as the title page is lost the date of its publication is not to be ascertained from that copy. The style is old, as may be seen by the following specimen given from the opening of the dedication "to the famous Seatown of Horn, in West-Frieslandt":

"It is a golden rule of Augustine—all things that are written by everie one, come not into all men's hands. And therefore it is profitable that manie bookes be written of manie men, in a different stile, not of a different faith, even also of the same questions, that so the same matter may reach to more men, to some in this, to others in another manner."

Van Alpen also mentions an English translation of de Witte's work, but does not give the date or translator.

The Palatinate Heidelberg Catechism was published at Heidelberg, Sept. 1, 1684. It furnishes, in questions and answers, an excellent analysis of the Catechism, and has all the proof texts printed out in full. This work was extensively used in the churches and schools of the Palatinate and in other provinces, and has been very popular from the beginning, as well in America as in Europe. An American edition was published at Philadelphia in 1777, also an edition in Easton, 1829. An English translation of this work was made by the author of this article in 1849. Frequent editions have since appeared, and it is extensively used in Sunday schools and Catechetical classes throughout the Church. A German edition has also been published at Chambersburg within the last few years.

*Wieland Peter van der Hagen*: The ground of salvation in fifty-two sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, together with four introductory sermons, translated into German from the Dutch by John Vogelgang. Bremen, 1698. This work is much praised in the Preface to the German edition.

*John D'Outrein's* Golden Treasure of the truth according to godliness, as contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, farther explained, elucidated and confirmed. Now, on account of its excellence, translated into German by Henry Günther Tegeler, N. C. P., organist of the St. Stephen's church in Bremen; farther carefully revised, and enlarged by various remarks and additions by Frederick Adolph Lampe, formerly minister of the divine Word in Bremen, and since Doctor and Professor of Theology in Utrecht, Holland. Bremen, 1721, 1735. D'Outrein was Doctor of Philosophy, and an eminent minister in Amsterdam. This work was first published in Amsterdam in the Dutch language, 1719.

This is justly regarded as the best work extant on the Catechism. Countless editions of this work have appeared in Dutch and German. Pious Reformed ministers and members regard it as truly a treasure. It is written in questions and answers, and covers 1130 pages, with a most valuable index of nearly 60 double column pages. It is both critical and practical, pervaded with a spirit of earnest evangelical piety. We are in possession of the very first German edition, and know of no work on the Catechism which we can more highly recommend.

A French Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism appeared in a second edition in Frankfort, 1742. This work has not been regarded as orthodox. The name of the author is not given.

#### SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland the following works on the Heidelberg Catechism appeared.

*Jacob Hoffman*: The Heidelberg Catechism with a plain Analysis and edifying applications of the text. 1654.

*Bartholomew Anhorn*: Practical homiletical Analysis of the Catechism of Zurich enriched from the Palatinate Catechism. Basel, 1688. In this work, written in Latin, every Lord's Day of the Heidelberg Catechism is explained.

*John Rudolph Rudolph*: The Palatinate Catechism ex-

plained for the good of his hearers. Born 1697. It appeared also at Franekker 1705. Van Alpen says this work is very highly esteemed.

*Christopher Stähelin*: Explanation of the Heidelberg catechism, in questions and answers, with practical applications adapted to convince, examine, encourage, exhort and comfort: also a prayer adapted to each question; the whole intended for parents who seek God and His Salvation for themselves and their children. Part I and Part II. St. Gall, 1724. Basel, 1728, 1737, 1752. We have a copy of the Basel Edition of 1728. This is an excellent work not critical like D'Outrein, but perhaps the very best in existence for practical devotional purposes. His practical reflections are very searching, and the prayers, one of which is added to the explanation of each Lord's day, are full of the true Spirit of devotion. An affliction of the throat, which hindered him from preaching, was the occasion which led the pious author to the preparation of this work. Thus to thousands, besides himself, has his affliction been made a lasting blessing. This work is still in print, and favorably known in this country, as well as in the Fatherland.

#### HOLLAND.

*Hieremias Bastingus* wrote a commentary on the Heidelberg catechism, in Latin; It was first published in 1588, and a second edition in 1590. He wrote another similar work which was published at Dort, 1594.

*Philip Lansberg*: Catechism of the Christian religion, as it is taught in the Netherlands and the Palatinate, in fifty-two discourses. This work appeared at Middleburg, 1594; at Neustadt, 1595; at Hanau, 1620; and at Frankfurt, 1621.

*Henrici Brandii Willemsonii*: Analysis of the catechism of the Christian Religion, which is taught in the Palatinate and Belgian churches and schools. Leyden, 1605, 1612.—Latin.

*Ruardi Aconii*: Conversations, in which the questions

of the Palatinate and Belgian catechism are explained. Scheidam, 1606. This work is written in Latin. In Dutch he published; *Instruction in the Christian catechism.* Scheidam, 1608.

*Johannes Kuchtinus*: The catechism of the Holland and West Friesland churches explained, 1612. The place of publication is not mentioned. The work is written in Latin.

*Johannes Becius* on the Heidelberg Catechism. Dort, 1631.

*Danielis van Leren*: Meditations on the Catechism. Arnheim, 1636.

*Guilielmi Amesii*: Sciagraphy of the Christian Catechism, in which under the text the different Lord's days are briefly, critically, and learnedly explained. Amsterdam, 1635, 1650. It also appeared in his complete work's, Amsterdam, 1658.—Latin.

*Gisberti Voetii*: Questions on the catechism. Utrecht, 1640.

*Casperi Sibellii*: Catechetical Meditations in four Parts; in which the points of the Christian Religion, contained and taught in the Palatinate catechism, are clearly explained theoretically and practically, and effectually defended against the calumnies and abuses of its enemies, especially against the objections of the Remonstrants. It is preceded by catechetical Prolegomena and Paraligomena. Amsterdam, 1650. The first Part of this extended Latin work was published in Deventer, 1646; the next at the same place, 1647, the third, 1649, and finally also the fourth, 1650.

*William Maxamilian Sheelinck*: Simple explanation and application of the most prominent questions of the Netherland Christian Catechism. Middleburg, 1650.

*Johannes Beeltsnyder*: Anatomy or explanation of the Christian Catechism. Amsterdam, 1651.

*Henrici Diestii*: Catechetical Honey-making (*melificium catecheticum*). Deventer, 1653. Latin. The same author also published fifty-two sermons on the Heidelberg Cate-

chism. Arnheim, 1670. He also abridged the work of Ursinus and Pareus, of which we have elsewhere given the history. Harderwick, 1633.

*Johannis Martini*: Dominicals in three Parts; the third Part of which is a popular Analysis of the Palatinate Catechism with remarks. Groningen, 1653. Latin. In Dutch the same author published: Larger catechizations on the catechism. Amsterdam, 1676.

*Conradi Mylli*: Catechetical Meletemata, or Homolies on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1654. Latin.

*Cornelii Poudrayen*: Catechizations; that is, fundamental Instructions in the doctrine of the Christian Catechism. Amsterdam, 1659.

*Nicolai Heussenii*: The Catechism of the Netherland Reformed Churches confirmed as to its truth, with testimonies from the Church fathers. Rotterdam, 1657. The same author also wrote prayers on the Catechism. Leyden, 1655.

*Henrici Alting*: The Heidelberg Theological Authors, the Third part of which contains an explanation of the Palatinate Catechism, with defence against the remarks of Novices, and the contradiction of the Socinians. Amsterdam, 1646, 1662. Latin. Van Alpen attributes another work to this Alting; Catechizations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Steenwick, 1662. It is thought, however, by Henry Simon Von Alpen that this may be only a Dutch translation of the Latin work.

*Pauli Colonii*: Catechetical Disputations. Harderwyk, 1663. Latin.

*Christiani Schotani*: Theological Partitions; or the Ursinian Amesianian Art in the Palatinate-Belgian Catechism. Franekker, 1663, 1665. Latin.

*Arnoldi Montani*: Catechism of the Christian Religion, as it is used in the churches and schools of Upper and Lower Germany, with an Analysis and marginal Scripture references, finally revised, ordered by the States of Holland and Westfriesland to be used in their schools. Latest edition, enriched with an analytical compendium of

every Lord's day from the Tables of Festenius Homminius. Amsterdam, 1664. This work is said to be written in a fine Latin style. Prayers and Hymns are added at the end of the book.

*Jacobi Stermont*: Milk for children, also meat for the more perfect ; or a brief view of the Christian religion according to the Catechism. Haag, 1665.

*Gellie de Bouma*: Enlarged Christian Catechism, or a safe mode of catechizing in the same. Dort, 1658. From the same author we have: Catechism of the Reformed Religion, explained by an Analysis. Zütphen, 1651.

The first work has been translated into German and published. Hanau, 1664.

*Balthaser Bekker*: Sound food for the perfect. Leuwarden, 1670, 1672. Amsterdam, 1682. Although the Heidelberg Catechism is not mentioned on the title page, it is nevertheless an explanation of it. This book was at first praised by some, and pronounced dangerous by others. After a long discussion which it occasioned, it was at length declared heretical. Bekker endured the sentence with patience. He wrote also other works on the Catechism, which it seems were more fortunate, and his name is held in honor.

*Joannis Cocceii*: The Heidelberg Catechism of the Christian Religion, explained from the holy Scriptures. Leyden, 1671. Amsterdam, 1672. Franekker, 1684. Latin. Translated into Dutch by Abraham van Poot, Doctor of Medicine. Amsterdam, 1673. This work was published after the author's death by his son, John Henry Cocceius, who says in the Preface that it was his father's aim in this work to give the precise sense of the Catechism which was in the minds of its authors. If he succeeded in this, it must be a valuable work. The Dutch edition of this large work, in four volumes, we once bought, but before it reached our hands it was drawn out of its course by some strong antiquarian attraction. We can only mourn after it as "strayed or stolen!"

*Jacobi Crucii*: Treasure of the Christian soul ; fifty-four Sermons on the Catechism. Amsterdam, 1671.



*Samuel Maresü*: Public Catechism, or theological Porismata on every Lord's day of the same, now according to the wish of many, published in an improved form. Gröningen, 1671. Latin.

*Francisi Rideri*: Sevenfold Exercises on the Catechism. In two Parts. Rotterdam, 1671.

*Antonii Hulsü*: Didactic and polemic catechetical Examination. Two volumes. Leyden, 1673. This author published still another polemical work. Leyden, 1676. The work is in Latin.

*Adamü Peenü*: Catechization on the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1676.

*Petri van der Hagen*: Fifty-two Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, besides four introductory sermons. Amsterdam, 1676, 1684. These sermons were translated into German by John Vogelgang.

*Wilhelmi Mommae*: Meditations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1684. Latin. The same author wrote: Considerations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1685. This may be a translation of the Latin work.

*Jacobi Allingii*: A Dissertation, or Notes on the Heidelberg Catechism. Likewise an exegetical Analysis of the Heidelberg Catechism, which may be found in the sixth volume of his complete works. Amsterdam, 1687.

*Antonii Vorster*: Catechetical Considerations on the Knowledge of the Truth, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1691.

*Cornelii Gentman*: Enlargement on the points in the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1692. Van Alpen mentions another work of this author on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1705. This may be merely a new edition of the same work.

*Pontioni van Hattem*: Treatise on and more particular explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. In two Parts. Amsterdam, 1692. Van Alpen calls this a wicked and dangerous perversion, and not an explanation, of the Catechism.

*David Knibbe*: The Doctrine of the Reformed Church,

according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism, explained and confirmed, and applied to the practice of godliness. In two Parts. Leyden, 1692, 1694. Again at Leyden, 1696.

*Barend Hakvoord* : The School for Christians, containing sixty-six Lectures in which the whole Confession of the Christian faith is briefly represented, clearly explained, according to the course of the Heidelberg Catechism, and confirmed from the holy Scriptures. The third edition was issued in Amsterdam, 1693. Again at Zwoll and Amsterdam, 1706. Van Alpen thinks there is much in this work in conflict with the Christian doctrine.

*Everhardi van der Hoocht* : The Heidelberg Catechism discussed in the Nuwendammer church for those who would prepare themselves for the Holy Supper. Amsterdam, 1696. There is another work by this author bearing the title : Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1714.

*Heronis Sibersma* : Fountain of Salvation, as pointed out in the Heidelberg Catechism. Leuwarden, 1696. A translation of this work appeared at Frankfort, 1699.

*Joannis Wilhelmi Feylingii* : Catechism. Utrecht, 1705. Also : The truth of the Christian Religion, its duties and its comfort, briefly set forth from the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1710.

*Jacobi Bruckland* : Treatise on the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace, according to the Heidelberg Catechism. Middleburg, 1711.

*Mathaei Gargon* : The only Comfort, or the Heidelberg Catechism opened and set forth. Leyden, 1712.

*Salomonis van Till* : Catechetical Homilies. Utrecht, 1714. This work was translated from the Latin into Dutch.

*Van Pothuysen* : Key of Knowledge, or explanation of the doctrine of truth according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1717.

*Petri Venhuysen* : The whole sure doctrine of comfort of the Reformed Church, opened and drawn from the Heidelberg Catechism for wholesome instruction. Gröningen, 1721.

*Johannes Van der Kemp*: The Christian entirely the property of Christ, in Life and in Death, exhibited in fifty-three Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism; wherein the doctrine of faith, received in the Reformed Church, is defended against its principal opponents, and the practical improvement and direction of it to evangelical piety enforced. Rotterdam, 1722. The Preface bears date Aug. 2nd, 1717. The author was pastor of the church in Derksland, Holland. This work was translated into English by Rev. John M. Van Harlingen, and published in two volumes in New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1810. A copy of this edition is in our possession. The translator in his Preface says; "This work hath been highly esteemed in the original, having been often reprinted since its first publication."

*Abrahami Van der Steeg*: Food for the Young, or a short explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1726.

Other learned men published other Catechisms of their own, according to the fundamental teachings of the Heidelberg Catechism, with a view to explain it and enlarge on some of its points, or in the construction of theological treatises have had this symbol of faith in view. In the Dutch language appeared the following works of this character.

*Balthasar Bekker*: Nourishment for the spiritual growth of the tender youth of the Reformed Netherland churches, consisting of 52 questions for little children, milk for babes and bread cut small, very convenient to be used in the Reformed schools and in all Christian families, 1668.

*Thaddaei de Lantman*: Short introduction to the Doctrine of Truth. Haag, 1678.

*Joh. Martini*: Simpler Catechization on the Christian Catechism. Utrecht, 1686.

*Georgii de Mey*: A short summary of the principal points of difference between the true Reformed and the present Romish Church, according to the order of the Christian Catechism. 1693.

*Emilii Cuylenboorgh*: Begining of the Doctrine of Christ,

set forth according to the order and division, and in the words of the Heidelberg Catechism. Rotterdam, 1698.

*Henrici Groenewegen*: Catechization, or exercises in all the principal points of the Christian faith, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Eukhuysen, 1698.

*Simonis Moolenaar*: Bible-work, or short summary of the true divine knowledge, prepared on the Heidelberg Catechism. Two Parts. Amsterdam, 1723.

*Antonii Van Oostrum*: A Short Summary of the Heidelberg Catechism. Dort, 1704. There was also a work with the same title by Simon Simonides, published in Amsterdam, 1698. The ministers of the city of Dort in 1620 published: A brief summary of Christian doctrine in short questions and answers according to the Heidelberg Catechism, for the instruction of those preparing themselves for the Lord's Supper. Samuelis Maresii published in Herzogenbusch, 1641, in the French language: A sketch of the regular Catechism of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces, divided into twelve sections.

*Antonii Driessen*: Direction to explain and apply to practice the Heidelberg Catechism methodically and apodictically. Gröningen, 1724.

*Hermanni Alexandri Roell*: Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1728. Roell, says Van Alpen, was a learned and prominent man in his day, yet his commentary on the Catechism did not please the learned of his time. His son, who published it after his father's death, excuses its imperfections on the ground that the work was not intended by his father for the press. The work is compiled from college lectures, and in many cases the compiler did not apprehend the author's true meaning.

*Johannis van der Honest*: Exhibition of the evangelical truths which are comprehended in the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1728.

*Hieronymus Van Alpen*: Economy of the Palatinate Catechism, with an Introduction on catechetical instruction in general, and especially on the origin and fortunes of the Palatinate Catechism. Utrecht, 1729. This author

was a man of great learning and fame, who also did good service to the Catechism. His work is highly praised. It is written in the Latin language.

*Antonius Strick*: The Heidelberg Catechism briefly explained in questions and answers. Together with a catechetical exercise on making a profession of faith, and preparation for the Lord's Supper. Leuwarden, 1739.

The great Synod of Dort during its sessions, 1618, appointed the Theologians Franz Gomarus, John Polyander, Anton Thysius, Herman Faukel, Balthasar Lydius and Godfried Utemann, who were present, to draw out an epitome of the Heidelberg Catechism for smaller children. They completed their work whilst the Synod was in session, and it was adopted by that body.

In 1648 the States General of Holland, for the benefit of the Greek Christians had the Heidelberg Catechism translated and published in the Greek language. Pareus in his History of the Palatinate says: In Belgium they are engaged in translating the Catechism into Spanish, that it may be used in the West Indies. Oelrich, says Van Alpen, has made us farther acquainted with a Spanish translation in the following work: D. Joh. Carl Conrad Oelrich's historical and critical account of a very rare edition of the Heidelberg Catechism of the Reformed Churches in the Spanish Language. Berlin by Rauck, 1793, 42 pages. Perhaps this is the same of which Pareus makes mention in his History of the Palatinate.

Besides these commentators on the Catechism who are familiarly known, says Van Alpen, there are yet many others whose names have either remained obscure, or whose catechetical works have not been carefully and fully mentioned.

Several learned men in Holland and Germany have written on the Catechism in verses and rhymes; in some cases treating its contents summarily, and in others following out the course of the Catechism at length.

*John Pinceres* published a poetical paraphrase of the catechism under the title: The Palatinate Catechism, with a

poetical Paraphrase. Herborn and Hanau, 1597. This paraphrase is written in Latin.

*Balthasar Bekker* published Catechetical instruction in rhymes; or the Heidelberg Catechism for the benefit of children in Rhymes, 1665. We have also: The Old Heidelberg Catechism wrought into plain rhymes by an excellent writer. Wesel, 1742.

*Franz Plante* wrote sacred Epigrams on the confession of faith of the Reformed Religion and Catechism. Leyden, 1679. Another poetical work bears the title: The lustre of the Reformed Church, beaming forth from the brief summary of the holy divine wisdom contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, with its questions and answers, brought into rhyme by Christian Klaarbout. Amsterdam, 1725. This translation of the Heidelberg Catechism into the Dutch language poetically is accompanied by a long preface in which Klaarbout applies to it the highest terms of praise, relating also its history, the most of which he takes from D'Outrein, often repeating it in that author's own words.

While the Reformed Church has been thus diligent in illustrating its chief Catechism, it has been no less laborious in preserving its eventful History in all lands, and through all centuries. The first and most important History of the Heidelberg Catechism is the following:

Catechetical History of the Reformed Church, in which, especially the Fortunes of the Heidelberg Catechism are related at length, being drawn from reliable original sources and writers, by John Christopher Koecher; Doctor of Divinity, and Professor in the University of Jena. Jena, 1756. Germany. This work of 444 pages, besides that of the Heidelberg, gives also the history of all Reformed Catechisms down to the time of its publication. We are in possession of the first edition, the preface of which bears date May 4th 1756. We have also before us a translation of this work into Dutch by E. W. Cramerus, and published at Amsterdam, 1763. Koecher also published the Catechetical History of the Roman Church, Jena, 1753; and



in a third volume that of the Waldenses, Bohemian Brethren, Greek Church, Socinians, Mennonites and other sects, Jena, 1768.

Next in time and importance to the work of Koecher is: *The History and Literature of the Heidelberg Catechism*, by Henry Simon Van Alpen, Pastor of the Reformed Church in Stolberg, near Aachen. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1800. German. One volume, pp. 408. Van Alpen, like Koecher goes to the original sources, and brings the History down to his own time.

Besides these works, devoted specifically to the History of the Catechism, we have in English, "*The History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*," by Dr. Nevin, Chambersburg, Pa. 1847. This is a brief, but very satisfactory work.

A review of what we have now presented will show that, however much the Heidelberg Catechism has been honored in the fatherland by the rich literature which it has gathered around itself, comparatively little has been done for its illustration in this country. So far as the Dutch Reformed Church is concerned this is no doubt attributable to the fact that the Catechism itself, in that denomination, has passed almost generally out of sight. Into the reasons of this defection from the true original genius, spirit, and practices in that branch of the Reformed Church it is not our present object to enter. The fact is publicly acknowledged and earnestly lamented, by, at least some, in that communion. Says one, "The general disuse into which the Heidelberg Catechism has fallen among us, occasions serious anxiety among many. Notwithstanding the care taken to lay the obligation upon all our pastors to explain this Catechism, it is well known that only a few regard it. Should our Board of Publication issue a manual not dissimilar in purpose to that of De Witte, it might probably accomplish what Synodical injunctions and Classical requirements have hitherto failed in accomplishing, toward the revival of catechetical instruction." Another correspondent of the *Intelligencer*, lamenting the fearful neglect

prevalent in regard to the proper instruction and care of the baptized children, praises the better former times when "the Reformed Dutch Church sent forth her colonies to this country in the seventeenth century" and when she "was very watchful over her children. They were all baptized; not one was left out of the covenant. And then, in accordance with the vows assumed, parents were particular in personally instructing their offspring, not leaving it all to the pastor and Sabbath school teacher. Then, too, the Church was constant and indefatigable in her care and teaching. Every individual church had its parochial school, where daily, in addition to ordinary elementary branches of education, the *Bible and Catechism* were taught and explained by the schoolmaster, and reviewed weekly by the minister and elder. It has been said of a truth, "*the former glory of Holland has departed*. But it is to be hoped, in this particular, it will return. If this occurs, the Church must retrace her steps." From this honest confession it clearly appears that the Dutch Church in America has been inveigled into tendencies which have gradually led her away from the stand-point which she occupied at the time when "her colonies first came to this country in the seventeenth century." With this entire defection of the Church from its true ground, where the Catechism has become a mere relic and rare curiosity of a former age, no commentaries on it, and no literature springing from it, could of course be expected. Vander Kemp's work itself, published in 1810, when it seems there was still "a little strength," so far as we know, perished with the first edition.

In regard to the preservation of the original catechetical practices, the case is entirely different in the German Reformed Church. Here the ancient custom of catechizing the baptized children in order to prepare them for confirmation and the full communion of the Church has not only been uninterruptedly retained, but the strongest "tendencies" in favor of its still more earnest use, have of late years enlisted the zeal of Synods, Classes, consistories, pastors,

parents, and children. Never since the organization of the first congregation in 1726, has it been held in so high honor, or been plied with such intelligent and devoted earnestness as at the present day. In the German Reformed Church the glory of the system has by no means departed, but rather it has excelled in glory. In those few cases, where a foreign spirit had sought to bring it into dishonor, the vigor of the Church's true original life has been able to accomplish its speedy and effectual defeat; and the champions have retreated to parts where no such evisceration of venerable churchly practices is needed.

Though the catechetical spirit has thus remained, the Church in this country has, as yet, accomplished little in creating a catechetical literature. True, there has not hitherto been an absolute call for labor in this department, since the German language is still generally understood and used by our ministers and people; the libraries of most of our pastors are more or less furnished with standard German and Latin works on the catechism, and many of our German reading families are also still supplied with practical works of this nature in the mother tongue—such as Staehelin, Otterbein, and others. But it is also true that our Churches are fast becoming English; and though we have Dr. Fisher's Exercises, the Large Palatinate Heidelberg Catechism, Dr. Nevin's History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism, and Rev. Williard's Ursinus, all in English, the Church cannot regard itself as adequately supplied with its present English catechetical literature. Ministers will need, and the people will ask, that the rich past shall be made to yield up some of those treasures which have been brought into review in this article. In that new tongue, which in the providence of God is fast becoming most familiar to us, would we hear the wisdom of the fathers. From the old vessels would we drink in the spirit of our pious ancestors, while we would defend the faith precious to us by mail and missile from this armory "whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men."

Lancaster, Pa.

H. H.

## ART. VI.—THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

The Christian patrons of African Colonization have always looked for great results from this enterprize, in the spread of the Gospel among the African heathen. The founders of the American Colonization Society did not, indeed, speak of this evangelical effect as one of the objects of their institution. They had in view an interest of great importance to our country of another kind. But enlightened men, as they were, they must have seen that this incidental effect of their work would be the most important of all its effects, and be, in the end, its chief glory; and philanthropists, as they were, they must have rejoiced in the prospect of an indirect beneficence from their labors, so rich and munificent.

The good work of our countrymen in Africa will doubtless profit most by continuing to hold the temporal welfare of the people of color in this country as its chief end. But none can object to allowing Christian people, who are zealous for the spiritual improvement of the negro, to avail themselves of the admirable occasion furnished by colonization, for seeking to evangelize Africa. "The set time to favor Zion" in that part of the world has undoubtedly come. The Christian heart can not be content that the African continent should not share as largely in the prayers and labors of the Church as any other quarter of the world. And there is no portion of the heathen world more frequently referred to in the prophecies of Holy Scripture than that. We have reason to suppose that great stress was laid on some of the prophecies of the Bible concerning Africa, lest that remote and obscure quarter of the world should be too long overlooked by the benevolent enterprize of the Christian Church.

Among the Scripture references to evangelical progress

in Africa, we are accustomed to consider the passage in the prophet Zephaniah, chapter 3: 9, 10. Jerusalem, as the representative of the Gospel Church, was severely rebuked for her shameful ignorance of her spiritual relations and destiny, and for her character in general, which was so unworthy of her high calling. Zephaniah prophesies great indignation against her and gives her to understand that while her perverseness was proving her own ruin, it could not frustrate the grace of God towards mankind at large. Thus he accuses and warns her: "I said surely thou wilt fear me; thou wilt receive instruction; so their dwelling should not be cut off, howsoever I punished them; but they rose early and corrupted all their doings. Therefore wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey; for my determination is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them mine indignation, even all my fierce anger; for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy. For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent. From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering." (Zeph. 3: 7-10.)

While the Old Testament prophecy may have, in many cases, an undeniable view of events then near at hand, both as to time and place, yet it is difficult for us to confine it to them. In most of the predictions, where times and places are not definitely given, we have reason to consider the eye of prophecy as reaching to a sort of indefinite future, and seeing the successive changes of the world, which occur at vast intervals of time, as we see the nearer and the remoter stars, apparently side by side. As to this prophecy of Zephaniah, if it primarily refers to parts of Africa, history records no marked events, near to the prophet's time, to which it could distinctly apply. Some interpreters have, therefore, so far yielded to the influence of cognate names, and of classical statements and allusions, as to extend the application of this geographical name to

countries far east of the African Cush, or Ethiopia, as the Greeks called it, and to understand it as designating the southern part of Arabia, and also the territory still farther east, between the Caspian sea on the north, and the Persian gulf on the south. And then the prophecy of Zephaniah here referred to, is applied to the return of the Jews from captivity; the rivers of Ethiopia being taken as the Tigris and its tributaries or branches. It is thought also that the captive Hebrews must be the persons intended by "the daughter of my dispersed."

But as reasons for preferring to apply the prophecy to Africa, we give the following considerations: 1. That the African Ethiopia is elsewhere very prominent before the eye of the spirit of prophecy; as when Isaiah calls upon "the land which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia to send its present unto the Lord of Hosts," (chapter 18: 1); and when he says to Zion in another place, (45: 14,) "the labor of Egypt and the merchandize of Ethiopia men of stature shall come over unto thee;" and this prophecy of Isaiah is so like that of Zephaniah that in the absence of strong reasons to the contrary we must apply both to the same event, as occurring in the Ethiopia, which is the same as Abyssinia, south of Egypt; and we thus take the rivers of Ethiopia to be the branches of the Nile. 2. That the "suppliants" need not be considered as any part of the captive Hebrews; for the Gentile tribes are referred to as *dispersed*, and living afar off, and their conversion is conceived as a *gathering in*; while the captivity in Babylon is not represented under the figure of a dispersion. 3. That the suppliants were to come from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, while the captive Hebrews were not beyond the rivers of this oriental Ethiopia, or Babylon, but *by* them. And 4. That Zephaniah speaks of a great movement of nations as taking place while this offering is coming from Ethiopia; but no such movement attended the return of the Hebrews from Babylon; whereas now, when Africa is receiving Christianity, the nations seem all in motion. For these reasons, it seems just to conclude that the sup-



pliants whom Zephaniah foresaw as coming from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, are the same who appeared in the vision of Isaiah, fellow countrymen or neighbors of the Sabeans, dwelling beyond the branches of the Nile, on the south of Egypt, at a most unpromising distance from the lands of light, in the almost unknown and inaccessible recesses of the interior of Africa. And through the glass of this graphic prophecy, we see the sable multitudes of that vast and benighted region, after their long night of ignorance and oppression, waking to a morning of freedom and joy. They come with the people of all other lands to the Christian sanctuary, to share in the salvation of the Gospel and to bring the rich fruits of their lands as an offering to the Lord. And this is the wonder which is now actually coming to pass.

The great commercial nations are showing a lively concern in the researches, now so rapidly penetrating into the dark interior of Africa. They wish to secure a share in the gains of such a commerce. Our own country more than any other, might be expected to claim an interest in those opening treasures: for the African people are nearer to us than to any other nation on the globe. Our Christian philanthropists have long had a sacred property in the western coast, and are sending thither many every year, who have had their birth and training here. But owing to our peculiar circumstances as a nation, with reference to Africans, we can not yet so much as recognize the national independence of that colony of our own planting. We are embarrassed in devising and executing public measures for the gains of commercial intercourse with that great and productive quarter of the world. Our Christian people, however, have an interest there which they can foster and improve. There has been a spirit connected with the enterprise of African colonization which will not be slack in preferring its claim to the Liberian Republic, as an instrument of its own divine work. For no matter how little the founders of the American Colonization Society may have thought of Christian Missions, as a means

of their noble work, or of the spiritual benefit of the African people as an end, they would still be among the first to recognize the wealth and power of their future colony as the Lord's, for publishing the Gospel and maintaining its institutions in all that continent. This will yet be the crown of their institution ; the rich reward of their labor. The Christian spirit will baptize that whole grand enterprise, and consecrate all its movements to its own holy purposes. This is what the Christian people of this land are authorized, encouraged and bound to do.

In doing this, we should highly prize the constant emigration from this country and use all diligence in fitting it for our service. As citizens of the United States and as philanthropists, and friends of the secular welfare of our own people of color, we have an interest in promoting emigration, on account of the emigrants themselves. For in the providence of God and for reasons entirely beyond the control of either Church or State, the free colored people of this country are in a condition so unfavorable to their improvement that they would do much better there. Why this should be so, seems to be one of the mysteries of providence ; but as things are, we can not look for any change in this respect. The purest feelings of kindness towards them as a class, and the highest degree of Christian character does not lead any nearer to that equality of condition and free social union which exist between other races. The ground of separation lies deep in the constitution, where it can not be reached by any civilizing or evangelizing correction, unless it shall be by means of natural change upon the physical texture of the African, proceeding through many generations. Our reasons, therefore, both natural and spiritual, for wishing success to the work of emigration, should not be condemned as wholly evil, but rather pondered as hints of the will of providence as to the present course of the two classes. And no candid observer can mistake the providential indications of the times in this matter. The welfare of our colored brethren will be promoted by emigration. If of the better class, they can

rise in Africa at once to social equality and usefulness. They can enjoy the dignity of true self-respect, beyond what they can ever attain here. If of the lower sort, they will have more open doors, and more incitements to successful activity than they can have here. Whatever their condition in any part of the United States, they will have good reason to be thankful for encouragement and aid in securing a home in Africa.

The number of slaves emancipated every year is very large. And emancipated slaves are not, as many may suppose, an inferior class of emigrants to Africa. Though many have less education in books, they have better habits. Their masters were among the more conscientious and humane, who took most care to prepare their servants for freedom. And then their freedom is new to them and unless they are extremely indolent and vicious, they will endeavor to make the most of it for themselves and their posterity.

The number of emigrants is increasing. Some 11,000 have already gone. They will soon be reckoned by thousands in a year. Those of proper age have more or less education and Christian training. Their modes of thought, their manners and habits, have been formed among civilized people. Many are decided and exemplary Christians, with intelligence, and other qualifications for usefulness in Africa. As that republic grows in wealth and commerce, and its character becomes attractive, the immigration will be greatly accelerated, till it becomes like the immigration from Europe to this country. Then the growth of Christian influence will be in a manifold proportion. The public sentiment is more powerful in large communities; the Christian inhabitants will have more intercourse with the natives; and African Christians will mingle more with those of other countries. We shall greatly promote the cause of Christianity in Africa by encouraging emigration.

The climate is healthy for the colored race; and the natural increase of population is rapid. This might be supposed from the fact that so many have been furnished

for the slave trade without stripping the continent of its inhabitants. In Liberia this rapid growth will be a growth of Christian families; whose children will be born to the inheritance of freedom, and of all the blessings of the Gospel. Besides this growth of emigrant families in the Republic, there is a population of natives who connect themselves with the colony for the benefit of living under its laws and its Christian influence. Their number is twenty or thirty times greater than the emigrant population of the Republic; some 250,000. They take up their residence in the neighborhood, obtain homes for their families and cultivate land. This will produce an immense increase of the christianized population. They will all have the Scriptures in their families. Their children will all be educated in Christian schools and in the English language; and thus have access to the vast body of religious literature of our language. They will seek their society and transact business among those who use that tongue. All will live and grow up under the influence of the Gospel. So great will be the number of these, that they will give a Christian aspect in the life-time of two or three generations to the entire continent. Far as their growing multitudes become incorporated with the Republic, the frontiers of Christian freedom will advance towards the interior of the continent, the area of civilization will be enlarged, and a vast increase of these natives will gather upon its borders. Their language will be, "We will go with you for we have heard that God is with you." After the first generation, the natural increase will not be heathen, but Christian; acknowledging the only living and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent.

From such a population on African ground, we shall measurably look for a systematic and energetic prosecution of the missionary work. This work cannot be prosecuted in Africa by Christian people from other countries. The Church has learned this by costly experiment. The expense of human life incurred by sending any but African people to live in Africa, amounts to a prohibition. If any

thing in the way of Christian enterprise can be considered as forbidden by the providence of God, it must be the sending out of white missionaries to preach the Gospel in Africa. This honorable work is reserved for those servants whom the Lord shall raise up of the African race. Many of these favored servants have already gone to their vineyard from this country, and are citizens of the African Republic. Others are preparing; and thousands who will yet put efficient hands to this blessed work are now in bonds, and others will be for some generations yet to come, preparing for their peculiar service by one of the mysterious ways of the providence of God. But the great army of those soldiers of the cross will be born on African ground, and be trained to their service amidst Christian institutions in the land of their fathers, and with physical constitutions formed by the African climate. Even those born and bred here, whose blood is purely African, are so little changed by their American clime, that after short residence in Africa, they become as healthy as the natives. But the number of *emigrating* missionaries will be only as a drop of the bucket compared with those raised up on the ground. There is no other tropical portion of the heathen world where so much evangelical work can be done with so little expense of life and treasure.

The Christian missions there will be conducted and prosecuted with a zeal quickened by all the natural, as well as spiritual motives; inasmuch as every religious advance will be felt by the people as an immediate gain to the whole economy of their life. The zeal will be guided by a wisdom scarcely attainable in human affairs except in intercourse with one's own countrymen. Not strangers in a strange land, and having natural affinities for those they would serve, they are not regarded with jealousy and suspicion, and held at a distance as aliens. They know and are known. They are in social contact with the people, with no stratum of national antipathy between. The advantage of this unobstructed sympathy is incalculable in the Christian sphere. No superiority of knowledge, tal-

ents or liberal accomplishments can be more than a very partial substitute for it. The people of Africa have suffered uncommon degradation; and when they begin to rejoice in deliverance, they are drawn towards each other by a peculiar attraction. Notwithstanding that attachment which grows in them towards the whites, who treat them with respect and kindness, and even the pride and vanity they indulge in being noticed, they soon learn in the school of true freedom that they owe nothing to others but what they can claim of them as brethren and equals. Place them in the same relations which others hold, give them a personal interest in the same social, political and religious affairs, which they have seen their superiors concerned with, and they feel themselves raised at once in the scale of being. They have a national fellowship in exaltation as they had in degradation. Under such circumstances, Christian Missions in Africa have great advantages, compared with those of any other country in the world.

The Christians in Africa will have the necessary means. Africa is one of the richest countries on the globe by nature; and it only requires a moderate industry, and a skilful application, to turn her natural riches into the common forms of national and individual wealth. Farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, all men of useful and honorable trades and professions, who are industrious and prudent there, will grow rich. The soil and climate produce rapidly, and the productions have all the rest of the world for a market. For the country yields many things not produced elsewhere, and many more, not found elsewhere so cheap. The future commerce and wealth of Africa will be a wonder. Many of the great nations are eager to promote it, and to share in its profits. And we may entertain the rational expectation, from the providential forces now converging thither from the prosperous countries of Christendom, that the righteous and merciful God is about to lift that continent to a height of prosperity compensatory for its former depth of adversity. There must arise on that ground a system of commerce vast, splendid, and lu



crative. The hand of Christian philanthropy there will be full of resources; and the Lord will see that his people employ his silver and gold for his service. There will be such a state of things as has never existed before. When this country was colonized the civilized and Christian nations were poor, compared with those nations now; with few and feeble means of exerting mutual influence; with few facilities for commerce, and familiar only with slow and tedious processes of production in the mart, the shop and the field. But now think of Africa, just taking root and lifting up her thrifty and lofty branches amidst the active and stimulating elements of the business world of this day. What must such a people soon come to be, in respect to the means of improving her own people. At the beginning of Christianity in the world, when Christian communities in social centres had barbarous heathen all around them; and among them, the work of conversion went on fast, till all forsook their idols and became Christians. But Liberia now becomes a social centre for that continent, with heathen all around and within her; preparing to establish her lines of steam and electricity in all directions towards the interior, till every motion of her Christian heart shall waken a pulse in every extremity of the land. The African missions will require support for a time. Let us maintain them in the highest vigor for one generation more and they will then take the whole service on themselves, and make their country rich in the fruits of the Gospel.

While this work of missions is going on, the natives in multitudes will be joining the colonists and uniting their interests with civilized and Christian people. It is from this source that by far the largest portion of the increase of the colony is to be expected. The stream of emigration, large as we may hope it will be, will be small compared with the accession from the native population. In this respect the Republic of Liberia has great advantage over the first settlers of this country. The colonists and the natives can begin at once to have free intercourse with one another.

er. There is no natural hindrance to immediate amalgamation. We are even astonished at the number of natives who seek to be connected with the Republic. We are informed they are in the proportion of thirty to one. They gather upon the borders and settle in the territory of Liberia. They offer their children for admission into the schools. They invite Christian teachers to establish schools among them. As they become qualified they are taken into the political body as citizens in full; becoming naturalized, and entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. They will form a part of the religious communities; will meet in the religious assemblies, adopt the customs of Christian people, receive the discipline of Christian ordinances, and of the usages of civilized life, and will leave their children with the sentiments and habits of Christian society.

We may take Sierra Leone, for an example, on a smaller scale, of what may be expected in Liberia. That British colony is now reported as having more than sixty thousand souls. These are of sixty different tribes. The emigrants are mostly recaptured from slave ships and carried to this colony as a place of refuge. Now great numbers of them and of their children are merchants, skilful mechanics, teachers, ministers of the Gospel, &c. Some who are engaged in commerce have acquired estates of one hundred thousand dollars each. Some own vessels and navigate them. The African people, thus trained to business exhibit as much talent in proportion to their experience as the people of other nations. Give them the practice which others have in the most intricate and complicated pursuits and those of greatest importance, and after two or three generations of such culture, it would not surprise us to see them standing among the foremost in all the higher developments of human nature. In their present degraded condition, and after their long history of degradation, it were strange that they should not be degenerate in character. They have never known the incitements and the means of true culture. Those in bondage could not have the facilities for improvement enjoyed by the free;

and those in their native land, besides being the prey of cupidity in other nations were insulated by their climate from the elevating intercourse with more advanced people, which would otherwise have given them a share in the general progress of the world. But that they do not possess their share of the highest capabilities of man, in every respect, should not be taken for granted so long as we have so many instances of noble intellectual and moral development among them, even under the disadvantages of slavery, and so long as those who pronounce them an inferior race, have such an interest from avarice or pride, in perpetuating their degradation. We speak of the example of Sierra Leone as on a small scale. Its numbers are small compared with those soon to be reckoned to Liberia; and the character of its accessions from recaptured slaves is so inferior to those received by Liberia from emigration, as really to forbid comparison. If Sierra Leone can present so favorable a result under the circumstances, Liberia may well congratulate herself upon her future. The citizens of the United States have done a glorious work in planting on the coast of Africa the seeds of a great Christian nation, which will have a brilliant history, and bring an immense accession to the Church of Christ. Notwithstanding the great reproach, deserved and received, for holding millions of the African race in bondage, we have the happiness and honor of doing for that race, what will result in an amount of good infinitely greater than the amount of evil they have suffered in slavery. God has overruled and is still overruling our sin for the glory of his righteousness. While we do not extenuate our wrong doing by the good which we may attempt and execute, and which God may bring to pass even by our unrighteousness itself, we thank God and congratulate ourselves that we have been able to begin this enterprize, and now are permitted to see it advancing so rapidly, and almost by its own resources along.

The Christian people of this country have yet a service, however, to perform for Africa in the present generation which they should do with their greatest diligence and

wisdom. They may feel, while doing it, that they are contributing one of the brightest pages of the history of the Church on earth. We are giving the Gospel, in the most effectual way, to millions of people who have never yet been numbered. We are spreading the Christian Church over a continent, on the greatest part of which, the Gospel has never yet been published. We are executing there a duplicate of our own civil and religious institutions. The inhabitants of that dark and almost unknown quarter of the world are coming to the light of life. They are taking their place among the followers of Christ, as heirs of the heavenly inheritance; as fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God.

This case will be illustrious in the annals of the world, to show how God, in his wisdom and mercy, brings good out of evil. Nowhere else has the wickedness of man been so fruitful of wo; nowhere else will the grace of God be more fruitful of righteousness and life.

**THE BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM; or, the Scriptures as a Means of Civilization.** By R. H. Tyler, A. M., Fulton, N. Y. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. pp. 366.

The title gives a correct conception of the book. Believing "that the Bible is, in the system of morals, what the sun, the fountain of light and heat, and the centre of attraction, is in the system of nature," the author proposes to show that this Sacred Book "is really the great renovator of the race,"—"a radical reformer"—"a civilizer of the human race."

It is a common error of the times to confound Christianity with the Bible—the divine-human order of objective spiritual being in the world with the subjective history and representation of it as given in infallible human language; or, to identify the new creation in Christ Jesus with the inspired teachings in writing concerning it by prophets, evangelists and apostles. The promise in Paradise and the institution of sacrifices, are older than the record of them; the Jewish church, with its entire ceremonial order, is older than the books of Moses. The constitution of the Christian Religion, the establishment and organization of the Christian Church in Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean, are older than the Gospels and Epistles. So also are the foundation and progress of Christian civilization older than the New Testament. The truth of this position involves simply a question of historical fact, which every one must concede, who remembers that no book of the New Testament was written until at least twenty-three years after the Ascension of Christ, and the last as late as sixty years after that event. These historical facts the author of *The Bible and Social Reform* overlooks. He reasons as if the New Testament were the foundation of Christianity, and the source of the highest spiritual, moral and social power on earth, whilst directly the opposite is the truth: Christianity is the foundation of the New Testament, and the source of all the elevating and transforming power which the inspired volume possesses. All the author's facts and arguments, in as far as they have any logical force, go to establish the latter proposition, not the former.

Another important distinction is overlooked. The Sacred Scriptures are for those properly who are enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and have been made obedient to the Faith of Christ; not for the world at large. To the unconverted world they are a sealed book. Men are required first to receive Christ with unquestioning docility, before they can have access to its hidden treasures of power and knowledge. Without such childlike faith in Christ, who is the Alpha and Omega of the Holy Book, the Book itself is comparatively powerless for good. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them for they are spiritually discerned. 1 Cor. 2 : 14.

E. V. G.

**THE PROVINCE OF REASON: A Criticism of the Bampton Lecture on "The Limits of Religious Thought."** By John Young, LL. Edin., author of the *Christ of History*, etc. New York: Carter & Brothers, 1860. pp. 305.

This is a bold and earnest criticism of Mansel's Bampton Lecture. Dr. Young exhibits the relation of Mansel to Hamilton and Kant; to Spinoza, Schelling and Hegel; sets forth the difference between the Reason, or the higher Reason, and the Understanding, which the Lecturer everywhere ignores; and exposes the confused ideas of the book in regard to the Infinite and Absolute, and the contradictory principles of reasoning which pervade the discussion. The Criticism will serve as a powerful antidote to the poison of "The Limits of Religious Thought." Dr. Young may not be equal to Mansel as to learning; but he employs a sounder logic. His style may be less fluent and beautiful, but it is more vigorous and forcible.

E. V. G.

**A MAN.** By Rev. J. D. Bell. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860. pp. 462.

The design of the author is to develop the true ideal of a *man*. The cultivation of the senses, the necessity of study, rational love, thinking, conversation and wit, form the successive topics of the First Part; aspiration, genius, invention and discovery, writing and the three inspirations—that of the poet, the orator



and the hero—the topics of the Second. The book abounds in sound views concerning the formation of a manly character, which are beautifully illustrated by historical facts drawn from all ranks of society and all ages of the world. But it commits a grave error, which neutralizes the force of many wise counsels. It overlooks the fact of the Fall, and proceeds on the silent assumption that man possesses the moral power by nature to actualize the ideal of manliness. The Scriptures are quoted and facts in the life of Christ are cited, sometimes to sustain, at others to illustrate the author's views. But for no other purpose. "A man" is not referred to Jesus Christ as the vitalizing power and true prototype of the noblest manhood. "Without me," our Lord Himself says, "ye can do nothing."

E. V. G.

DER LITURGISCHE GOTTESDIENST. Predigt ueber Ap. Gesch. 2 : 42. Von John S. Kessler D. D., Ref. Prediger und Lehrer am Allentown Seminar. Philadelphia. Schaefer und Koradi, 1860.

Dr. Kessler unfolds briefly the idea of a Liturgy, and then discusses the propriety of liturgical services, and the duty of a minister in regard to the use of a Liturgy. The Discourse was prepared at the request of East Pennsylvania Classis; and is the result of a thorough investigation of the general subject. It is well adapted to the present transition period of the German Reformed Church from a somewhat puritanized state to the stand-point of the Reformation; and should therefore be extensively circulated among our German congregations.

E. V. G.

A SERMON preached before the Alumni Association of the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, located at Tiffin, Ohio, at its annual meeting held at Akron, Ohio, on Friday evening, June 1st, 1860. By Rev. Isaac H. Reiter. Published by request of the Association, Dayton, Ohio. Office of The Western Missionary. 1860.

This Sermon gives us a full and accurate history of the Western Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church.

First opened at Canton, Ohio, under Rev. Dr. Buettner as

Professor, it had two students and continued in operation less than a year. Suspended for nearly ten years, it was finally revived by the Synod of Cincinnati in Aug., 1848, and located at Columbus, Rev. A. P. Freese being chosen Prof. of Theology. Five students were admitted. The Institution was suspended in July, 1849, and in October the Professor tendered his resignation to the Synod of Tiffin. A special Synod, convened at Tarlton in April, 1850, located the Seminary in that village; but the Tarlton Seminary was never organized. Five months later, September 1850, the annual Synod of Navarre transferred the Seminary to Tiffin, in consideration of a donation from the citizens of \$11,080; and proceeded also to found a Literary Institution, under the name of Heidelberg College. Rev. B. S. Schneek D. D., was elected Professor of Theology; Rev. J. H. Good, Professor of Mathematics; and Rev. Reuben Good; Rector of the Preparatory Department.

At a special meeting of Synod held at Tiffin, Dec. 14th, 1850, Dr. Schneek having declined the call, Rev. E. V. Gerhart was elected Professor of Theology and President of the College, who accepted and filled the office for four years. On his resignation Dr. Schneek was again elected to fill the place, and again declined. The annual Synod of Xenia, June 1855, elected Rev. Moses Kieffer, of Reading, Pa. Dr. Kieffer accepted and has been carrying forward the Institutions successfully since November, 1855.

Since the opening of the Tiffin Seminary in June, 1851, it has had *fifty-seven* students, of whom *forty-two* have become ministers of the Gospel—*thirty-nine* in the German Ref. Church, *one* in the Prot. Dutch Ref. Church; *one* in the Ger. Evangelical Church and one in the Methodist Church.

The Western branch of the German Ref. Church has had a long series of painful discouragements to contend with in establishing a Theological School, and College; but perseverance in faith has overcome every obstacle. The Institutions are doing a great work for the Reformed Church. They merit and should receive the cordial and liberal support of the ministry and laity.

Mr. Reiter has rendered the Church a special service in drawing so faithful a picture of the reverses and successes, the struggles and triumphs, of this central Institution.

E. V. G.

**A FAMILIAR COMPEND OF GEOLOGY. For the School and Family.**

By A. M. Hillside. Philadelphia: James Challen &amp; Son.

pp. 150.

The title explains the character of the book. It is what it purports to be—a lucid, concise and accurate manual on Geology in questions and answers, adapted to the capacities and attainments of youth, and based on an extensive and thorough knowledge of the Science. The book will answer an excellent purpose as a text-book in the Family and School.

E. V. G.